

THE
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MONTHLY

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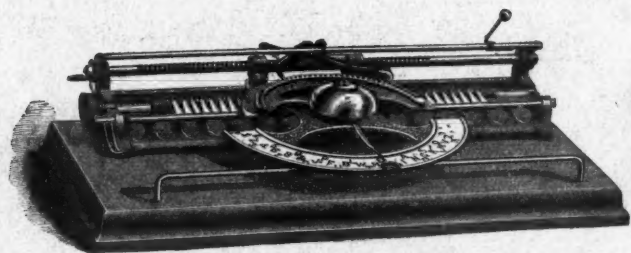
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*Professors in Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass., with the
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THE LEGAL STATUS OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS IN THE MODERN STATES.

ONE of the chiefest sources of confusion of thought in regard to any subject is the employment of the language of the past to express the relations of the present. Human ideas and institutions are, by the law of development, subject to perpetual modification and adjustment. The words and phrases which represent them correctly at one period of their growth are faulty and delusive when applied to another. As a general principle the terminology of every subject is behind the actual status. This is especially true in reference to the relations which constitute the problem of this essay. The current phrase employed to give title to the subject is "Relation of State to Church." This is misleading in at least two respects:—

1st. There is no such institution known to modern law as "the church." The phrase, "the church," is now only a collective name. It denotes a variety of separate and independent organizations having a common purpose. If the Platonians object to this statement we will grant them, for the sake of argument, that the church is an idea. In either case it has no legal status as an institution. The law takes cognizance only of the separate and independent organizations, and addresses itself wholly to them.

2d. The word "state" conveys no certain and distinct idea to the common mind. It is used sometimes to designate territory, sometimes government, and sometimes members of a political union. More rarely is it employed in its true scientific meaning to denote the sovereign, independent and ultimate organization of the people, upon which rests the constitution both of government and of liberty. Most frequently is it intended for government in the discussion of the relations which form the subject of this paper.

We seldom meet the phrase, "relation of the government to the church," although in nine cases out of ten this is what is meant, either exclusively or most largely, by the expression, "relation of state to church." Moreover the phrase, "the state," is subject, in some degree, to the same criticism which we have applied to the phrase, "the church." It is no concrete existence in the modern political world. There are states, but no universal state. "The state" is either a collective name or the symbol of an abstract idea.

The truth is that this nomenclature comes to us from the Middle Ages, when the state was the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, whose boundaries were, in theory if not in fact, the limits of civilization, and when the European church was one consolidated institution. We must discard its employment at the outset, if we would gain any clear and distinct idea of the relations of the present, either in practice or principle. The title which we have chosen is not subject to any of the objections to which we have just referred: "The Legal Status of Religious Organizations in the Modern States." It requires, however, a word of explanation. We should indicate what we intend by the phrase "modern states." Briefly, we employ the expression to designate a definite system of fundamental political principles rather than a period of political chronology. Not all the states of the present are, from our standpoint, modern states, — not even the greater number. Only those which rest upon a national foundation, and have developed constitutional government and a popular "politique," can be strictly so termed. These conditions and principles have been attained chiefly during the most modern era, and therefore political science has borrowed from chronology the adjective in the phrase.

The discussion of our subject divides itself naturally under two heads, viz.: —

The relation of the religious organizations within the territory of a state to the state, and

Their relation to the government.

Modern public law distinguishes sharply the state from the government. It recognizes sovereign and absolute power as inherent in the state, and views the government as the creature of the state, deriving all its powers therefrom and subject to limitations thereby. Against the *state* there are no immunities, no rights, no liberties. Against the government, on the other hand, the state marks out a sphere of freedom and autonomy for the individual

and erects defenses for the same. The state makes the constitution upon which the government rests for existence and power, but there is nothing human more ultimate than the state. Its foundations are history, human nature, and God, and it is their sovereign interpreter. There is nothing in political science so difficult for the theologian to accept as the absoluteness of the state. "Dieu et mon droit" is usually his first principle. At the best, he seldom gets nearer to this most modern proposition than the doctrine of "natural rights." To ascribe the origin of rights to the state appears to him the root principle of tyranny and oppression. This is comprehensible. The theologian dwells largely with the ideas of past ages. His idea of right is an inheritance from the age when the prince was the government, the government was the state, and the ends of the state war and conquest; when, on the other hand, the church was the refuge of the people, the defender of their lives and property, and the promoter of their welfare. But the modern state is no longer that. It is the people in most ultimate organization. It comprehends, therefore, all interests, all institutions, and all persons. Its consciousness is the clearest light in which to search for justice and truth. It is the true king, who can do no wrong. Its will is the most ultimate force in mundane affairs. The churches or religious organizations existing within its territory are, as are all other associations and institutions, completely subject to it. Legally it is, either directly or mediately, the creator of them all, and they must look to it for their rights, powers and protection. The relation of the state to the religious organizations within its territory is, therefore, simply a question of high policy which the state alone determines through the precepts of its constitution.

The great, all-comprehending ends of the modern state are civilization and culture. It considers that these ends can be best secured in one direction by force, in another by influence, and in still another by liberty. The government is therefore but *one* of the means made use of by the state. The freedom of the individual and the encouragement of association are others which it employs; and, in proportion as the individual rises in the scale of culture, it employs them in higher and higher degree. This realm of autonomy is as truly a creation of the state as is the government itself. The state marks out its boundaries in the constitution, and commands the government not only not to overstep these limits itself but to repel assaults upon them from any and every other source. Within this domain of *constitutional* liberty the

modern states place the freedom of religion, endowed with such privileges and immunities and subject to such limitations as in their view the welfare of the individual, the community, and the state warrants and requires. From this point, therefore, our problem is the relation of the *government* to the religious organizations within the state.

We search in vain throughout the *constitutional* law of the modern states for any express provision which secures the freedom of religious associations against the powers of the government. If it be a constitutional right, it must be implied from the clauses guaranteeing the freedom of religion; and in order that such an inference should be authoritative and form a settled part of the law, it must be made by the organ vested by the state in the constitution with the power of interpreting finally the constitution. In the European states this is the legislature. In the United States it is the judiciary, — that is, where private rights are involved; otherwise it is the legislature. Far from recognizing the powers of religious organizations as secured by the constitution, the legislation of all the European states treats them as subject completely to *governmental* supervision and control. In the United States the highest judicial body has placed a similar interpretation upon our constitutional law. In the case of *Reynolds versus the United States*, reported in volume 98 of the decisions of that great tribunal, the Supreme Court of the United States declares that the clause of the Constitution which provides "that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," deprives Congress of legislative power over opinion merely. That is, the freedom of religion, as recognized and guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States, is only the freedom of individual belief. On the other hand, when that belief seeks to take on the form of acts and practices or to exercise powers through religious organization, it is subject to the powers of the government. I am not aware that this question has been the direct issue in any case adjudicated by the courts of the commonwealths, but we may surely conclude that, if such be the principle in reference to the powers of the United States government within the organized territories, such it must be in reference to the powers of the commonwealth governments in the respective commonwealths, unless otherwise prescribed in their constitutions. There is no such *express* restriction in any of these constitutions, and there is no clause in any of them more favorable in language to such an implication than

that contained in the Constitution of the United States, which the Supreme Court of the United States has declared shall not be so interpreted. The modern states confer upon individuals no *constitutional* right of practicing their religion and instituting religious organizations solely according to the dictates of their own consciences. Rights of this character are conferred or allowed by the *government*. The genius of the modern state, indeed, recommends the government to make this domain of individual action as large and as free as the safety and the interests of the public and of all individuals will permit; it sees therein the best means for the cultivation of true religious character; but it does not authorize individuals or associations to defy the government from the stronghold of the constitution in respect to these things. There is very great popular misapprehension, especially in the United States, in regard to the general rights and powers of associations, secular as well as religious. They seem to be considered, by a very large proportion at least of our people, to be not only constitutional rights, but the dearest and most important of rights. This view, however, completely confounds the modern with the mediæval state. In the mediæval state, the absolute freedom of combination for any and all purposes without governmental sanction, and even contrary to governmental command, was the leading characteristic. The practice was occasioned by the fact that the government was the prince, who could not sufficiently protect the rights of individuals or maintain the public peace and security or promote the general welfare, and who was often inclined to arbitrariness in his administration. The manors, the guilds, the leagues, the orders, and the church discharged many of the duties of the government toward the individual and the public. They, therefore, came to exercise many governmental powers. The union of public powers with private interests in the hands of the chiefs of these organizations resulted in grinding tyranny over the individual members of the same, while their rivalries and hostilities, unrestrained by the government, destroyed the peace, the power, and the welfare of the state. When this condition of things became no longer endurable, the prince and the mass of the subjects of these very combinations joined hands to crush their power. The result was the development of the absolute monarchies of the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, which gave to the individual the freedom of his person and the security of his property against noble, bishop, and guild-master, — not completely, indeed, but in large degree. The experience of the Middle Ages had shown that

the complete freedom of associations will, in the long run, destroy individual freedom, and the universal cry for deliverance from their yoke was the declaration of humanity that the rights of individuals must be defended by the government against the powers of associations. So long as the absolute kings discharged this great duty, their government was popular. When, however, they themselves began the systematic invasion of the rights of person and property through their police and tax powers, then the combinations reappeared, and the power of the people was directed through them against the government itself. Through these new associations the absolute monarchies were overthrown and the states constitutionalized; and the more recent service which they wrought obliterated in the popular mind the memory of the evil which their predecessors created before. The constitutional law of the present, however, is more considerate. It holds that modern liberty means the liberty of the individual. It values association only as a help to the individual, and directs the power of the government against it when it becomes a violator of individual rights. The right of association is, therefore, not a primary but a secondary right; that is, it is subject to *governmental* regulation, and has no unlimited immunity in the *constitution*. Some of the earlier European constitutions contained it, but the error in principle was soon revealed and all such provisions were expunged from later instruments. It is a matter of the greatest importance that we understand and appreciate this point. We are threatened at this moment with the loss of liberty, not through oppression by government, but through the tyranny of associations. Our greatest danger is mediævalism, not absolutism. Let us fix, therefore, clearly in our minds the proper place of the rights of associations in the scale of rights. Let us free our minds from the thought that we are jeopardizing liberty when we lay strong hands upon the powers of associations. Let us fully realize that we cannot preserve modern liberty — the liberty of the individual — except through several very important restrictions upon the powers of associations; and let us not feel that the subjection of religious associations to these restrictions is either unnecessary or degrading. Religious associations have denied individual rights; some do now; and those which are not moved by the spirit of tyranny will not feel the bonds of the law in behalf of individual freedom.

As we have said, the modern states subject the powers of associations to the powers of the government, but recommend, so

to speak, the government to give them as great extension and play as the government shall find consistent with the highest enjoyment of individual rights and the highest welfare of the state. We have now to add that the modern states obligate the government so to limit these powers as, first, to prevent any association from taking possession of and exercising a governmental power; second, to prevent the rivalries and hostilities between different associations from coming to a breach of the public peace; and third,—and most important,—to prevent any association from denying to any member of the same, or to any other person, rights secured to him or her by the law of the land. The government is the only organization in the modern state which is authorized to use force, and the government is bound to use the whole power of the state, if necessary, to secure to the meanest individual the rights guaranteed to him by the constitution and the laws. Any hesitation on the part of those intrusted with the administration of the laws in such a case, no matter what the character or the strength of the combination to be dealt with, is vile and dangerous demagoguery. The modern state is the People, and the *government* is their organization; the laws are their laws, and are for their protection. The modern state should therefore throw overboard, instantly, any government which permits any association to defy the laws and violate individual rights, whether in the name of labor, capital, liberty, or religion.

Proceeding, now, from this view of the rights and powers of associations and of the limitations to which they are subject, let us examine the character of associations in the modern state. For our present purpose the only distinction necessary in regard to this point of our subject is between associations which are vested with or claim the exercise of a power to compel a member of the same against or without his consent or agreement, and those which are not vested with or do not claim the exercise of such powers. The truly modern state can endure the existence of the latter species only. At least we may say that if it permits the former, the government must place them under strict governmental supervision and control, for they are quasi-public organizations, or branches of the government itself. A purely private organization rests upon contract between its members. They can be held to do or to submit to only what they have, directly or indirectly, expressly or impliedly, agreed to do or to suffer. Neither can the body itself interpret, in final instance, the terms of the contract or the rights and duties which the contract creates, nor can it

compel performance. The judicial department of the government alone is, in the modern state, authorized to do such things. Such an organization can be safely left to the courts of remedial justice. Their powers and processes are sufficient for the defense of individual rights against any attempt upon its part to exercise undue power. If, however, we find within the state an association which may compel a member beyond his contract, or interpret in last instance the contract, or compel performance, then we have an organization exercising *civil* powers, and the government of the modern state is bound to do one of three things, namely, dissolve it altogether, or strip it of such powers, or adopt it as a governmental organ *ad haec*. In the latter case the government must place it under strict legislative and administrative supervision and control, as distinguished from mere judicial control; and must exercise revising and preventive powers over its acts as distinguished from a mere remedial power. These are the general principles according to which the relations of the government to any association within the territory subject to its jurisdiction should be determined.

Our final question is now: To which of these classes of associations do the religious organizations within the modern states belong? We may say that the great states of modern Europe agree substantially in assigning the religious organizations to the latter class, that is, to the class of public associations or institutions, and in subjecting them to the legal limitations and governmental control pertaining to their order.¹ They have found by experience that the great historic organizations of religion cannot be dealt with by the judicial power alone and on the theory of contract; that they exercise a power over the individual member beyond the control of the rule of mutual agreement; that they cannot be abolished or stripped wholly of this power; and they have therefore undertaken to settle the relations between them and the government under the view that they are public institutions, which must be intrusted with larger powers than mere private associations, and must therefore be subjected to a different and much stricter control. Consequently the administration of their properties is placed under governmental audit and approval. Their rules of discipline are limited by the law, and the application of them made subject to appeal to governmental organs for revision or cassation. The appointments to their higher stations can proceed only with governmental approval. The education of their clergy is directed, in considerable degree, by law. Even the enunciation of new doc-

¹ Hinschius, *Staat und Kirche*, S. 249 ff.

trines, the publication of proclamations and pastorals, and communications from persons outside of the jurisdiction of the particular government, are in many cases illegal unless furnished with the consent of the government. The purpose of these restrictions and this control is the maintenance of the rights of the individual and of the security of the state against the tyranny and the disloyalty of the associations. No one who reads European history closely and with understanding can fail to see that these means are both necessary and effective, and that any other manner of dealing with these organizations would be full of danger to the freedom of individual conscience and to the peace of the public. The European jurists have taken these organizations as they find them, and have generalized the principles of the relations which should subsist between them and the government from history and present conditions, and are now no longer duped by the high-sounding phrase of "the free church within the free state."

In the United States, on the other hand, we have a very curious condition of the law upon this subject, which does not, however, proceed so much from contradiction between statutes or judicial decisions as from confusion in fundamental principle. The law is fixed and uniform, but scientifically unintelligible. In the great and decisive case upon the point under consideration, namely, that of *Watson v. Jones*, reported in the thirteenth volume of Wallace's U. S. Supreme Court Decisions, the religious organizations in this country are classed *in name* as private associations, and are then recognized as in the exercise of powers belonging to public corporations, with the purpose of liberating them from the jural restrictions resting upon the former class, while, in all true political science, the legitimate effect of such recognition would be to place them under the far more stringent supervision and control of the legislative and executive powers of the government. In order that the position of the court and our criticism upon it may be clearly understood, we will give a brief account of the case, and quote the point and principal *dicta* of the decision. We would state at the outset that the reason why this case came finally before the United States courts was, that one of the parties was a resident of the commonwealth of Indiana and the other of that of Kentucky. The jurisdiction of the United States courts was founded wholly upon this fact. The law applied by the court was therefore commonwealth law, in so far as it harmonized with United States law, and not simply United States law. Neither was it the particular statute law of the commonwealth, as will be seen when

we come to recite the decision ; nor the general common law as modified by the particular statute law ; nor the general common law as interpreted by the courts of the particular commonwealth, — in this case, on the other hand, their interpretation was reversed, — but it was the general common law of the whole United States as interpreted and applied by the highest judicial body in the United States. We may therefore fairly say that it is the whole law in our dual system upon the subject, unless the constitutional or statute law of a particular commonwealth should otherwise ordain, which would, under our present system of distribution of governmental powers, create a different rule for that particular commonwealth.

The object of the suit was to settle the title to the property in the Walnut Street Presbyterian Church in the city of Louisville, Kentucky. The parties each claimed to represent that organization. The principal occasion of this state of things was the fact that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, the central and highest judicatory of that body, as the "Form of Government" puts it, had in May of 1865 decreed that voluntarily aiding in the war of rebellion and holding the doctrine that negro slavery in the South was a divine institution were *sins*, which must be recanted by every person from the Southern States making application for membership or office in any Presbyterian Church, before such application could be considered. The Presbytery of Louisville and the Synod of Kentucky repudiated this act of the General Assembly as a usurpation of authority, — as a violation of the constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. The parties in possession of the Walnut Street Church property at the time of the beginning of the suit before the United States courts were in sympathy with the above-mentioned resolution of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, as it called itself, although but few presbyteries south of the old slave line were represented therein at the time the resolution was adopted. These parties were therefore recognized by the General Assembly as the true Walnut Street Church. The parties seeking the property, however, were in possession of an order from the Court of Appeals of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, which court had decided that the introduction of the resolution of May, 1865, into the creed of the Presbyterian Church, by vote of the General Assembly, was a violation of the constitution of the church, was therefore a breach of the contract between the members thereof, and therefore

null and void. The order commanded the chancellor of the chancery court at Louisville to restore the Walnut Street Church property to the persons mentioned therein. Whereupon one Jones, of the party in possession, a resident however of Indiana, applied to the Circuit Court of the United States for an injunction restraining the chancellor from executing the order. The Circuit Court issued the decree of injunction, and one Watson, as representative of the party seeking possession of the property, appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the United States, and it is therefore from the supreme interpreting power in our system of government that we have the law upon this subject. We will quote the decision *verbatim* upon the point under consideration:—

“Religious organizations come before us in the same attitude as other voluntary associations for benevolent and charitable purposes, and their rights of property, or of contract, are equally under the protection of the law, and the actions of their members subject to its restraints. . . . The questions which have come before the civil courts concerning the rights to property held by ecclesiastical bodies, may, so far as we have been able to examine them, be profitably classified under three general heads, which of course do not include cases governed by considerations applicable to a church established and supported by law as the religion of the state.

“1. The first of these is when the property which is the subject of controversy has been, by deed or will of the donor, or other instrument by which the property is held, by the express terms of the instrument devoted to the teaching, support, or spread of some specific form of religious doctrine or belief.

“2. The second is when the property is held by a religious congregation which, by the nature of its organization, is strictly independent of other ecclesiastical associations, and so far as church government is concerned, owes no fealty or obligation to any higher authority.

“3. The third is where the religious congregation or ecclesiastical body holding the property is but a subordinate member of some general church organization in which there are superior ecclesiastical tribunals with a general and ultimate power of control more or less complete, in some supreme judicatory over the whole membership of that general organization. . . .

“The third of these classes of cases is the one which is oftenest found in the courts, and which, with reference to the number and

difficulty of the questions involved, and to other considerations, is every way the most important. It is the case of property acquired in any of the usual modes for the general use of a religious congregation which is itself part of a large and general organization of some religious denomination, with which it is more or less intimately connected by religious views and ecclesiastical government. The case before us is one of this class, growing out of a schism which has divided the congregation and its officers, and the presbytery and synod, and which appeals to the courts to determine the right to the use of the property so acquired. Here is no case of property devoted forever by the instrument which conveyed it, or by any specific declaration of its owner, to the support of any special religious dogmas, or any peculiar form of worship, but of property purchased for the use of a religious congregation, and so long as any existing religious congregation can be ascertained to be that congregation, or its regular and legitimate successor, it is entitled to the use of the property. In the case of an independent congregation we have pointed out how this identity, or succession, is to be ascertained, but in cases of this character we are bound to look at the fact that the local congregation is itself but a member of a much larger and more important religious organization, and is under its government and control, and is bound by its orders and judgments. There are in the Presbyterian system of ecclesiastical government, in regular succession, the presbytery over the session or local church, the synod over the presbytery, and the General Assembly over all. These are called, in the language of the church organs, 'judicatories,' and they entertain appeals from the decisions of those below, and prescribe corrective measures in other cases. In this class of cases we think the rule of action which should govern the civil courts, founded in a broad and sound view of the relations of church and state under our system of laws, and supported by a preponderating weight of judicial authority, is that, whenever the questions of discipline, or of faith, or ecclesiastical rule, custom, or law have been decided by the highest of these church judicatories to which the matter has been carried, the legal tribunals must accept such decisions as final, and as binding on them, in their application to the case before them."

The rights of property of a particular congregation were then decided upon the principles here advanced, and the decree of the Circuit Court affirmed. In other words, the Supreme Court of the United States has declared it to be the fundamental law of the land that the interpretation which the highest "judicatory" of

any religious organization puts upon its own powers over the subordinate judicatories and individual members of the same is *final*, and the civil tribunals will not inquire into the correctness of the same. The court appears to limit the scope of this wide-reaching principle somewhat by enumerating the subjects to which it is applicable, namely, faith, discipline, ecclesiastical rules, custom or law; but these are very general and indefinite terms, and we must not forget that the very case to which the court applied the principle was one directly involving the rights of property. The court did not say that, *if* the constitution of the Presbyterian Church vests the supreme and final interpreting power in regard to these things in the General Assembly, *then* the civil courts will not interfere. This would have been sound, for then *that* clause of the constitution would have been part of the original contract between the organization and all individuals entering the same. But the court refused to investigate the constitution altogether, and thus attributed to one party to the contract the power to bind the other by its own *ex parte* and possibly unconstitutional interpretation of the same. We submit that this is a civil power, and that it stamps the organization which has the legal right to use it as a *public* corporation. The learned counsel for the appellants in this very case, Mr. T. W. Bullitt, indicated this to the court. He pointed out to them the English law upon the subject in reference to the *free churches* of that country, as laid down by Lord Eldon himself, which holds that the civil courts must themselves examine and interpret the constitutions of the religious bodies, and determine from their own interpretations the rights and duties agreed upon under them; and that the claim that submission to the judicatories of such bodies is one of the original principles of their constitutions *is fact to be proved to the court*, and that there is no presumption of law in favor of such a claim. But our Supreme Court, in this case, with true American Chauvinism, waved aside the wisdom and experience of "abroad." In the important case of *Chase v. Cheney*,¹ decided but a little while before in the Supreme Court of Illinois, the only judge upon that bench at the time who had the knowledge necessary to deal with the questions involved, the late C. B. Lawrence, told his brethren plainly of the error into which they were falling by making a spiritual court in this country the final judge of its own jurisdiction; but they regarded the criticism as a European notion, and preserved the character of true Philistines in their decision. The justice who

¹ *Illinois Reports*, vol. lvii., pp. 541, 542.

rendered the opinion in *Watson v. Jones* knew well the case of *Chase v. Cheney*, and the dissenting opinion of Judge Lawrence. He was aware that there was another side to the question, but he evidently had no appreciation of its meaning or force.

We contend, therefore, that the religious organizations in this country, in spite of the fact that they are named in the language of the law and of the day private associations, are recognized by the law as in possession of powers which give them more the character of public corporations, and of public corporations of the most dangerous nature to the sovereignty of the state and the authority of the government, namely, of the nature of immunities. It is, no doubt, the intention of our lawgivers to confine them to the purely religious sphere, where such immunity would be harmless; and there is no doubt that the most of them imagine that they have done so, but they deceive themselves with the sound of words.

Evidently there is an *inherent* difficulty in the way of assigning religious organizations to the category of mere private associations, and we think it is this: These organizations hold that they rest upon revealed truth, that is, upon infallible divine truth, and this, in the close relation existing between religion, ethics and law, inspires them with the feeling that they possess the norms of a better *law* than any fallible human power can give. Why, then, should they be made subject to this human law? If these associations should or could take the view that theology was a human science, and that its postulates were the results of human experience, reflection and speculation, this difficulty might disappear; for as the national consciousness is wider and fuller than that of any religious confession, it could then be conceded that it would be clearer and purer. We would not be considered as offering this suggestion as our solution of this difficulty. We are not even willing to say that we desire to see the difficulty removed. We are only endeavoring to explain how it happens that, while the language and the theory of our law profess one view upon this subject, the facts and the practice reveal a different and a contradictory view. We are more inclined to regard religious organizations as quasi-public bodies, and advocate the readjustment of their legal relations upon that theory. If, however, they be recognized as in possession of fuller powers over their members than private associations may legally exercise, then must the government, in the modern state, hold a veto over their acts and a control over their administration, so far as it may regard

these as necessary to protect the civil and political rights of the individual members and secure the peace and welfare of the state. We pronounce it an utter confusion in political and juristic reasoning and language which terms religious organizations private associations, and then seeks to relieve them of the *judicial* supervision pertaining to the same by attributing to them immunity and powers of a public character, without asserting the more stringent control of legislature and administration over them. Really we do not comprehend how a true interpretation of our *constitutional law* can recognize to the courts the power to create these ecclesiastical immunities. The constitutions of the United States and of the several commonwealths vest the whole judicial power in courts created by the constitutions, or by the Congress and the several legislatures. No constitution vests in the judicial department the authority to delegate judicial power — surely not final judicial power. We do not, therefore, understand how the courts have any more right to accept the decisions of an ecclesiastical judicatory as final and unrevisable than those of the board of directors of a stock exchange, or of a bank or a railway, or those of the council of a club, unless specially empowered thereto by constitutional or statute law; and we do not think that this can be successfully claimed. Moreover, we think that the vesting of ecclesiastical tribunals with judicial power, or permitting them to exercise the same, is a question of polity, not of rights, and the Supreme Court of the United States has decided against its own power to determine questions of polity. (*Georgia v. Stanton*, 6th of Wallace's U. S. Supreme Court Reports.)

Political science requires that we should class these organizations according to their natural and actual character, and juristic logic then demands that we should attach to them the legal relations pertaining to their class.

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CHRISTIAN WORK IN LONDON.

II. DISSENTING CHURCHES. — OTHER MOVEMENTS.

IN discussing the work of the dissenting churches in London we shall find many of the methods employed by them so similar to those already outlined in a previous article that they need no further description. It should not, however, be inferred that they are practiced with less earnestness and success by Nonconformists than by Churchmen.

The dissenting churches have about seven hundred places of worship, of ~~all~~ sorts, in London. Three hundred and thirty of these, ~~most~~ of which are quite small, belong to various bodies of Wesleyans and Methodists; one hundred and twelve to Independents or Congregationalists; ninety-nine to Baptists; sixty-seven to Presbyterians; and eighty or ninety to a variety of smaller sects and to undenominational missions.

The ordinary services of these churches are arranged and conducted in all essential respects like those of our own country. There are, however, some slight differences between their ways and ours. Their religious meetings are, if we are not mistaken, considerably more frequent than is usual among us. It is common to have two prayer-meetings on Sunday, besides two regular church-services and Sunday-school. Not a few of the churches have two sessions of the Sunday-school, the first coming before church in the morning, the second in the afternoon, and even have the same officers, pupils, and teachers at both sessions. Their Sunday-schools, as a rule, have the character of mission schools, and are usually not attended by the children of the best families in the church. Yet some schools are conducted on the American plan. It is a common plan to hold two prayer-meetings on week-days: one, perhaps, on Monday and one on Saturday evening; and a more formal service, with preaching, on Wednesday or Thursday evening. There is almost always more singing in the course of the service than is common with us. Morning service in most of the churches includes, at least, four hymns and a chant, or three hymns, an anthem, and a chant. It was noticed in two prominent Congregational churches in London that, during a morning service, followed by a brief communion service, there were sung, always by choir and congregation together, an anthem, two chants, and five hymns.

1887.]

Christian Work in London.

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The celebration of the Lord's Supper is frequent, the event occurring as often as once, and even twice, each month. In the latter case there is usually one celebration after a morning and one after an evening service, in order that it may suit the convenience of all to be present at least once every month. There is also a system of tickets by which the members of the church indicate their presence at the sacramental service. Each member present deposits a dated and numbered ticket in the collection-box with the offering for the poor. This does not mean that no member can commune without a ticket; the ticket is simply an indication of his presence, and enables the church clerk to keep a roll of attendance, — a very useful thing, especially where the congregation includes a large number of poor and obscure persons.¹

Most of the methods of evangelistic work carried on by the dissenting churches closely resemble our own. They have prayer-meeting inquiry-rooms, gospel services, and protracted meetings precisely like ours. Although the music used for regular church services is somewhat unfamiliar, in evangelistic meetings of all kinds one invariably hears the well-known songs introduced by Mr. Bliss and Mr. Sankey; and, much as these simple melodies may be despised on artistic grounds, they certainly have a remarkable adaptation to the work for which they were designed, — that of evangelistic services among common people. They are used in such meetings, not only in London and all over England and Scotland, but at the McAll Mission in Paris, and the Young Men's Christian Association in Berlin.

Having premised thus much in general, brief description will be given of the work of two or three dissenting churches which deal directly with the problem of evangelizing the masses.

The first example is that of the *Highbury Quadrant Congregational Church*, of which Dr. Llewellyn D. Bevan, formerly of New York, and lately removed to Melbourne, Australia, was pastor at the time it was visited by the writer. This church stands in the midst of a rather prosperous district in one of the newer parts of London. The comfortable-looking houses about it are occupied by people of the middle and upper middle classes. There are poorer neighborhoods, however, within a few minutes' walk, inhabited by working-people. The church has two thriving missions. The relation of one of these missions to its parent gives

¹ I cannot say that this is a universal custom, but only that it is a common one. I trust my readers will not forget that I claim in none of these matters to speak with authority, except within the range of a very limited experience.

an extremely valuable hint at the way religious work may be successfully sustained and vigorously pushed in the poorest neighborhoods.

The Mission Church of Britannia Row is nearly a mile and a half away from the parent church. It stands in a narrow lane, off from a portion of a great North-London thoroughfare, to which its abandoned character has given the title "The Devil's Mile." The population thereabout is of the poorest class, — day-laborers, washwomen, and costermongers. The Mission has all the appointments of a regular church. Its house of worship is large and comfortable. A regular pastor devotes his whole time and strength to its service. It has its own treasurer, deacons, and committees, and is in every respect like an ordinary church, except that it leans upon a stronger sister for support.

No church in such a community, with such a membership, could live a vigorously independent life, if it could live independently at all. There would be two great difficulties, and these the chief difficulties that disturb independent religious enterprises everywhere in poor neighborhoods: First, lack of money to support an efficient pastor, and to conduct the affairs of the church in a proper way; second, lack of workers competent to take helpful part in prayer-meetings, to organize and lead the various agencies that are needed to lift along the work, and to teach in the Sunday-school. In this case the difficulty is overcome by uniting the weak church with a strong one. The latter, out of its abundance, supplies the needs of the former, and both are benefited by the transaction, — one with the blessing of giving, the other with that of receiving. The Highbury Quadrant people pay the entire pastor's salary for their brethren at Britannia Row, and in hard times, when the weather is bitter and work short, so that many are in destitution, they come generously to their aid with gifts of food, clothing, and fuel. The stronger church sends also a corps of its very best workers to assist in the Sunday-school and prayer-meetings, to lead mothers' meetings, and even to take the office of deacon in the church. It would be strange if this outlay of its strength in support of a feeble sister did not, as it does, react powerfully upon the sustaining church, giving it more means for home expenditure and more workers for home work. It would be strange if going down to play the part of brother and sister in deed and in truth, by working shoulder to shoulder with these sons of toil and daughters of sorrow, did not, as it does, give to the well-to-do people of the Quadrant Church such an under-

standing of the needs of the poor, and such sympathy with their troubles, as no end of reading and speculation could afford. It would be strange if these gifts of money, of strength, and of fellowship did not soften the bitterness of the poor toward the rich, as indeed it does, convince them of the reality of Christian brotherhood, and open their hearts to all the uplifting influences of the Christian religion. Within the past ten years the neighborhood of Britannia Row has been surprisingly transformed. Neat and comfortable dwellings are rapidly taking the place of the wretched rookeries that once abounded in those parts. Where once the people were, almost without exception, ragged, drunken, and miserable, they now appear, in a great majority of cases, to be neatly clothed and comfortably situated. This remarkable change is doubtless chiefly due to the influence of the Mission Church.

The other mission connected with the Highbury Quadrant Church is smaller, and more of the usual type. The feature of it that appeared to the writer most interesting was a working-men's club and benefit society, comprising seven hundred members, of which Dr. Bevan was president, for whose meetings the Mission buildings are used. A similar club meets also in the lecture-room of the main church. The church, with both of its missions, sustains a very great number of societies, clubs, classes, meetings, penny banks, unions, mothers' meetings, fathers' meetings, etc. The Church Report states that, "irrespective of meetings for worship, there are, in all, not less than 56 such institutions, all of which, with the exception of five, meet at least once a week, that honor the pastor with the title of president. The Sunday-school scholars in all these institutions number more than 1,300; the members of the various mothers' meetings, nearly 1,000. Their annual contributions for the purchase of coal and clothing exceed £600; penny banks have 926 depositors, and their total deposits last year amounted to £579. The various temperance organizations have a membership of 700; the mutual benefit societies, a membership of over 1,100, with an income for mutual help of more than £1,350. Once a week, during six months of the year, about 350 poor children receive a meat dinner, and 700 poor families, or 3,500 individuals, receive, on Christmas eve, sufficient material to provide substantial dinners for two days."

Not far away from the church are the stables of one of the great street-railway companies. In these buildings, and on the cars

that run out from them, are employed, day and night, seven days in the week, a large number of men, of a class as much neglected by teachers of religion as any in civilized countries. A missionary is employed for their special benefit, a man of their own rank, who before his conversion was well known to them as a famous quack, gamester, and drunken horse-doctor. He is now a thoroughly changed man, full of zeal, with a rough sort of power, and an ardent advocate of temperance. His history, experience, and natural gifts, sanctified by the grace of God, secure for him great influence over the men. He has won scores and hundreds of them to total abstinence, and many to the service of Christ.

It is estimated that through these various channels the church, whose membership is only 517, comes in contact with at least 10,000 lives.

The *Tolmer's Square Congregational Church* adapts its work to the needs of the poorer classes by a very interesting movement of a somewhat different character. This church stands in the north-west quarter of London, not far from the junction of Euston and Tottenham Court roads. The neighborhood is one which was long since abandoned by the wealthy, and from which well-to-do householders have gradually been moving away, leaving the better streets to business and boarding-houses, while the poorer ones swarm with an ever denser population of artisans and laborers. Few churches have been called upon to look more squarely in the face the sternest, most difficult problems of city evangelization. As an effort toward the solution of those problems, some ten years ago, under the pastorate of the Rev. Henry Simon, now of Westminster Chapel, there was projected by the church an institute for workmen; that is, a place for the meetings and the headquarters of their friendly and temperance societies, and a place where they could always gather for a social evening. The Rev. Arthur Hall, of Bristol, brother of Dr. Newman Hall, succeeded Mr. Simon, and pushed forward with great energy the plans of his predecessor. During his pastorate that noble building was completed which bears the name of *Tolmer Institute*. At a distance of about three minutes' walk from the church it rises loftily in the midst of a multitude of small shops, gleaming gin-palaces, and dingy tenement-houses. Four shops occupy the ground floor, one of which is a temperance café belonging to the Institute. The rest of the building is occupied by rooms of various shapes and sizes carefully adapted to its needs. Among these are a gymnasium and three good-sized audience-rooms, the largest of which has seats for 800

people. The cost of the whole establishment, together with the land on which it stands, was not far from £14,000. Not more than five years have elapsed since its completion, and about three since the coming of the present pastor, the Rev. Frederic Hastings. Yet under his skillful management it has become a potent centre of Christian influence in that community, and its spacious accommodations are already taxed to their utmost capacity.

Among the various institutions for working-people that meet in this place, the following are noted: a Sunday-school, a Band of Hope, two lodges of Good Templars and one of Sons of Temperance, a woman's temperance society, a thrift society, three building societies, a mutual improvement society, a "help-myself" society, two Phoenix (that is, temperance friendly) societies, a penny bank, and a number of evening classes. There are also frequent "smoking concerts" for workingmen, and popular penny concerts, which draw audiences of seven or eight hundred every Saturday night, and pay their way handsomely. Here the pastor's wife holds mothers' meetings, where poor women gather weekly, bringing their babies and their sewing, to hear reading, music, and gentle words of encouragement and helpfulness. Here, too, are held frequent mission prayer-meetings. The best thing about it is that all these various institutions move on of themselves, and are not a great and crushing weight upon the shoulders of the pastor.

It is worthy of notice that the chief political power in that district, low and vicious as the neighborhood appears, is in the hands of no brewer nor liquor-dealer. The member of Parliament for the west division of St. Pancreas publicly acknowledged, at the last election, that he owed his seat to the personal influence of Mr. Hastings.

Before leaving this part of the subject the reader will be introduced to one other church, engaged in work of still another kind among the poor, — work which, in its way, is as remarkable as any that the world has to show. This is the *East London Tabernacle*. Its pastor, Rev. Archibald G. Brown, is a Baptist of the broad English type. He is a man of rather striking appearance, somewhat above middle height, rather slender, with soldierly bearing and laic dress, is prematurely gray, with a fresh animated face, clear tenor voice, and eyes that are full of leadership. He is gifted with remarkable executive capacity, and is at the same time a ready and effective speaker, filled with a passionate love for

souls.¹ His audiences perhaps surpass in size any to be seen in London, with the exception of Mr. Spurgeon's and those of the cathedrals. The church is a plain, square building, with scarcely the appearance of an ecclesiastical structure. It has seats for thirty-two hundred people, and remarkably good acoustic properties. It stands on Burdett Road, a few rods from Mile End Road, in the centre of East London. There is probably nowhere else in the world so extensive and so homogeneous a population of working-people as that in whose midst it is located. Many of these are exceedingly poor and degraded. Within five minutes' walk of the church in several directions, one may come upon the lowest types of human habitation. It was in this neighborhood, and by the assistance of Mr. Brown and his missionaries, that many of the investigations were made, the account of which, under the title "*The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*," so startled England and all the world four years ago.

A correspondent of "*The Daily Telegraph*" has written a graphic account of an interview with Mr. Brown and a visit to certain parts of his parish, from which we shall quote at length, in order to give a better conception of the nature of the work in which he is engaged:—

"'If you want statistics of the one-room horror, you shall have them out of my very district,' said the minister, turning to a carefully prepared tabulated sheet, which comprised every house to which his missionaries had access. 'What do you say to this? Three hundred and forty rooms yield nearly two hundred and sixty families, or, in square figures, twelve hundred and forty-four human beings. Cast your eye, sir, over the list. No. —, Cable Street, there are six families in twelve rooms, and twenty-nine persons living in the twelve-roomed house. Next door there are twenty-eight human beings in the house, exactly the same size. Number —, B— Street, appears to head the list. No less than forty-seven human beings, the total of six families, are thrust every night into six rooms, and you shall presently see what rooms they are for which sums varying from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. are charged, — rooms with ceilings breaking away from the rafters; smoky and grimy rooms; rooms where chimneys smoke and windows won't unfasten; rooms smothered in vermin, or overrun with mice; rooms approached by breakneck staircases as black as

¹ This is chosen as an example of a style of Christian work such as that of Mr. Spurgeon, Dr. Bernardo, and others, in which the personality of the leader is a most important element.

pitch ; garrets of rooms with sloping rafters ; cellars of rooms underneath the pavement ; rooms overlooking low, miserable streets or foul mud yards ; hopeless, cheerless, despairing rooms where wives strip their children piecemeal for the pawn-shop ; where the furniture seldom consists of more than a broken table or backless chair ; where the children, when a stranger knocks at the door, come across to him with starving eyes and ask, "Have you brought mother some bread ?" — and where the blind, neglected, lonely widow sits upon an empty floor in a fireless room, during the dull November day, and mumbles hopeless assent when asked by the good-hearted missionary to join him in prayer to God that some miracle may be worked in order to lighten this unspeakable darkness.' " ¹

The reporter thus describes some of the places as he himself saw them in company with the missionary : —

" We now arrive at a house where the staircase is so pitch-dark that I have to grope my way up on my hands and knees. This is one of the cheerful abodes where forty-seven human beings are packed into six rooms. It is one of the strangest experiences I have ever encountered. Here, in this hovel, children are about to be born ; here men and women are dying ; here new-born infants are yelling for food, guarded by baby nurses, whilst the expectant mother is off on some errand ; here children of all ages and sizes swarm about the filthy floor with matted hair, and rags on their poor little bodies.

" We mount to the top of the house. We tap at a door, and it is opened. A picture-frame maker lives here, but he is out of work, as he needs must be, since, in the first place, he has pawned his tools to get bread ; and, in the second, he has scarcely sufficient clothing to go out and search for employment. The wife is in bed, or rather she is rolled up on the floor in a filthy rug — for there is no bed — suffering from acute rheumatism. The fire is almost out, and one of the children, without any shoes or stockings, is hugging the cat that is kept to insure an absence of mice and rats for the sake of the wretched people compelled to lie on the floor. We hear no grumbling, no complaint, no execration, no despairing cry. Even these poor people, with their empty stomachs and their fireless grates, listen to a prayer when it is offered up, though it sounds strangely under such circumstances. Talk to these people of the workhouse and they will refuse to discuss the question farther. The workhouse means separation from

¹ *Daily Telegraph*, London, November 21, 1883.

husband and child. They would rather starve or die here than that."

Such was the region in the midst of which an earnest man of God found himself stationed as a preacher of the gospel. The ordinary means of grace were found to be here, as they are everywhere when faithfully and prayerfully used, efficient. Mr. Brown proved to be a popular preacher. Multitudes came to hear him, and scores and hundreds, through his words and the Spirit's power, were born into the kingdom of God. But in a place like London, or indeed in any great city, large congregations may represent but small and limited sections of the people. So it was here: this great and flourishing church, in all its religious work, did not touch nor approach a very large portion of the community. Not one of the very poorest class — of the people who stood most in need of the consolations of the gospel — would ever think of attending any of its regular or irregular services; and those who did attend were a sifted and selected class composed of the most intelligent and well-to-do people of the community.

In the winter of 1879, when the length and severity of the season occasioned an unusual amount of distress, considerable sums of money were placed in the hands of Mr. Brown for the relief of the needy. The first plan adopted by him was that of distributing alms from his own home, but this soon proved impracticable. His door was continually besieged by throngs of applicants for aid, many of whom were quite unworthy of it, while the most deserving cases were the last to make their needs known. He accordingly employed two missionaries, who went from house to house through the most destitute streets, searching out the needy and supplying their wants in their own rooms. In this way he and his missionaries secured a welcome to about a thousand homes that had before been closed to Christ and Christian teachers. They thereupon resolved that "so open a door of usefulness should not be allowed to close." The matter was presented to the congregation and friends. They responded with liberal donations. The work which had been commenced as a temporary measure, to meet the exigencies of a severe winter, was accordingly established on a permanent basis, and has been constantly expanding from that time to this.

It is assumed that when people are suffering the bitterness of extreme poverty, their most pressing physical necessities must be relieved before their spiritual destitution can be successfully dealt with. It is also assumed that any system of relief work which

aims at anything less or lower than the conversion of those for whom it labors to the Lord Jesus Christ can give only a temporary and superficial sort of help. The plan is therefore adopted of first ministering to the immediate wants of the poor, feeding those who are found to be hungry and without food, clothing the tattered and half naked, furnishing coal to the shivering and fireless, redeeming from pawn artisans' tools, garments, and other necessities of life which famine has torn from them, providing medicines for the sick, and helping the unemployed to find work. Secondly, and simultaneously with their work for the relief of these physical necessities, it is the custom of the missionaries then and there to preach the Gospel to the neglected people. Into the midst of the want, squalor, and sunless sadness of their wretched homes is brought the story of Christ's redeeming love; the claims of God are personally urged; salvation by the only Saviour is freely and affectionately offered, and these heathen in the heart of Christendom are taught to commit themselves, with their wants, to the Fatherhood of God.

Nine missionaries who give their whole time to such work were, at last accounts, employed by this church. Not merely from house to house, but from room to room, they go, relieving the needy, visiting the sick, consoling the afflicted, and preaching the Gospel everywhere. Their energetic leader declares that a missionary of experience never stops to talk in the entries, never visits the lower rooms first, but goes to the very top of a house to begin his work with its inmates, and "prays his way down," leaving no apartment unvisited where it is possible to gain admission.

The missionaries, after spending most of the day in visitation, hold evening meetings for the benefit of the people among whom they have been working in four mission halls provided for the purpose. Each missionary has a regular personal and private interview with the pastor once a week, and each sends in a weekly report stating the kind and amount of relief given, the number and locality of calls made, and the meetings held.

Money is never given away, except in very special cases. All relief is supplied by tickets, which are orders on the grocers and shopkeepers, or on a central office, where tea and clothing are given out. As the tickets are given gradually, in connection with the calls, there is never a rush upon the central office. All garments given away are stamped with Mr. Brown's name, and therefore cannot be accepted at the pawn-shops. The church and its friends also sustain an orphans' home, and a seaside home for

the exhausted and for convalescents, besides a great number of clubs, societies, meetings, and classes such as have already been described.

The vigor and activity of the life enjoyed by the church is remarkable. No communion season passes — none has passed during the twenty years of the present pastorate — without accessions to its membership. On the occasion of our last visit, in July, 1886, we were informed that sixty persons were then waiting to be baptized within three weeks, which was said to be no extraordinary number. Most of these are not the fruits, or at least not the immediate fruits, of the mission work. It deals with persons so degraded that ordinary church services cannot effect them. They are lifted by degrees. They are first touched by the words of the missionary in their home, are then persuaded to visit the mission chapels, and are there lifted a step higher. They next learn to enjoy the prayer-meetings of the church, and are finally brought into the regular services of the Lord's house.

"Any week evening service," says the pastor, "there may be found at our tabernacle prayer-meeting those who used to lead drunken, abandoned, and, in some cases, indescribably vicious lives. We do not say that all these are truly converted, but, to say the least, it is a glorious change from street-walking and public-house fighting. There is no hopeless class. Christ wins them all."

One naturally asks how any church, and especially one so largely composed of poor people, can possibly raise money enough to support such extensive missionary operations. In reply to this question, we quote again the correspondent of "The Daily Telegraph": —

"You ask me where the money comes from with which I am able to relieve these sorrows of Shadwell. Well, I am old-fashioned enough to believe in prayer. I pray for these wretched people night and day, and as yet I have never prayed in vain."

The work is not advertised. No one but the Lord is ever asked for money or for help. Once a year the church appoints a day for receiving special thank-offerings to be devoted to the mission work. A week-day is set apart as thank-offering day. Due notice having been given, the church is open from early morning, when men are going to their work, until late at night, and all day long the pastor is present to receive in person each gift from the hand of the giver. The offerings are of all sizes: poor workingmen bring a shilling or two; children contribute

a few pence; widows offer their mite; and the few that are rich bring much. Each donor, whether his gifts be small or great, is properly credited with it in the books. As most of the people are poor, the greater proportion of the money raised comes in small sums of a few shillings each; but, taken all together, the thank-offerings usually amount to several hundred pounds. Besides this, donations for the mission work pour in from all over England. Not a farthing of debt is ever incurred; yet means have never been lacking for the continuance and expansion of the work.

Christian workers in London have experienced the same difficulty in retaining their influence over the older boys of the Sunday-school that has perplexed so many of us here. Our attention was directed to one very interesting and successful effort to overcome this difficulty which is well worthy of study.

The Regent Square Presbyterian Church, of which Dr. Oswald Dykes is pastor, had a flourishing mission, since then become a church, in Somerstown, a poor neighborhood in northwest London. Connected with this mission was a large Sunday-school composed almost entirely of artisans' children. Great numbers of small children and of larger girls attended the school; but the boys, after reaching the age of fourteen or fifteen, became possessed of the notion that they were too big for Sunday-school, and so left it, and were soon estranged from religious influences of all kinds, so that the work done for the boys' classes seemed like water poured on the ground. For the sake of saving these lads, after much thought and prayer, *An Institute for Working Lads* was planned and organized. It commenced very modestly with a small membership, and provided at first only a small room for reading and club room, a Bible-class, and one or two evening classes. But it grew and extended its operations rapidly. Commodious quarters in an old chapel were secured, — a gymnasium, a library and reading-room, and evening classes were successively added; games were provided, a regular ground for cricket and football was hired, meetings and entertainments of all sorts were held; and now the "top story of the Sunday-school," as the *Oldenham Institute* is sometimes called, is wonderfully popular. It has a membership of over four hundred, and the average small boy of that Sunday-school has no higher ambition than to become a member of it, a thing not allowed until he has reached the age of fifteen.

There are three Bible-classes in the week. A guild with daily

Bible readings and monthly meetings comprises a large portion of its members. They have a course of "ambulance instruction" on first aid to the injured, art classes, classes in English literature and composition, in English grammar and elocution, in political economy, singing, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, French, German, and nine different science classes, besides technical instruction in carpentry, plumbers-work, printing, and lithography.

As most of the members are young, and all of them engaged in tedious toil during the day, the Institute performs no slight service in providing them with healthy play. It has a chess and draughts (checkers) club, a cricket club, a football club, a swimming club, and a club of "harriers" for the old-fashioned English game of hare-and-hounds.

The Institute has, in many ways, been of almost priceless value to its members. By taking up the evenings and holidays, which most boys of that class simply idle away on the streets or in worse places, and filling them with helpful instruction and healthful amusement, it has lifted its members quite out of the old degraded life to which they were born and seemed to be doomed. When the president, a warm-hearted British merchant, had conducted the writer through two or three rooms full of the young fellows engaged in their usual employments, he exclaimed, "Why, these are not working lads!" "No," was the answer; "it is true that they are nearly all clerks; but working lads they all have been, and working lads they still would be were it not for this Institute."

In speaking within so limited a space upon so great a theme as that of Christian work in London, it has been necessary to select a very few characteristic items for presentation out of the vast amount of material at hand, and it has seemed wisest to dwell on those forms of work that are more or less directly connected with local churches. But it should not be forgotten that a large proportion of the religious effort in the city, especially that which deals with the needs of the poor, has no connection with any local church. There are multitudes of independent missions of all sorts, many of them well worth studying, of which we can make no mention. It will not do, however, to pass by without a word of notice the most remarkable of them all. That is *The London City Mission*.¹ This great organization has, for fifty years, been carrying the gospel silently, but with exceeding power, into the dark and cruel places of the great town. It works in the interest

¹ See *These Fifty Years*, John Matthias Weyland, London, 1884.

of no denomination, — is supported by collections made from all the churches, and by donations from Christians of every name and order. Its missionaries, of whom there are now about five hundred, are chiefly occupied in carrying the gospel from house to house in the neglected parts of the city, in distributing tracts and portions of the Scriptures, and in ministering to the sick and dying. Upwards of three millions of such calls were reported last year, of which two hundred and seventy thousand were calls upon the sick. Besides this general work, the society has appointed a large number of special missionaries for the benefit of certain classes whose peculiar circumstances have shut them out from the regular means of grace. Missionaries are employed by the society who give their whole time to work for policemen, for bakers, for night and day cab-men, for drovers, for omnibus and tram-car-men, for soldiers and sailors, for fire brigades, for theatre employees, for hotel servants, for canalboat men, for coachmen and grooms, for letter-carriers and telegraph boys, for railway-men and navvies, for gypsies, for fallen women, and for thieves. A score or so of missionaries are exclusively engaged in visiting public houses, gin palaces, and coffee shops. The missionaries also conduct a great number of Bible readings and evangelistic meetings, some of which are held in workhouses, penitentiaries, hospitals, and factories, and many in the open air.

Street-meetings are very common in London. You will hear the voice of prayer, gospel melodies, and earnest preaching by the wayside in scores of places all over the great city on any pleasant Sunday afternoon or during the long twilight of the summer evenings. The parks are the favorite places, however, for open-air services. On every Sunday afternoon several such meetings are carried on at the same time, and side by side, both in Regent's Park and Hyde Park. Besides half a dozen meetings for preaching the gospel, one of which is always conducted in the German language, there are usually two or three for the proclamation of socialism and others in which the credibility of the Christian religion is discussed in alternate attacks made by some representative of infidelity and defenses by some Christian. London has a *Society of Christian Evidences*, which gives particular attention to training young men for work of this sort. Many churches in poorer neighborhoods preface their evening services by brief open-air meetings. The value of such preaching may be questioned. It shocks one's sensibilities, at first, to hear sacred things cried out amid the shifting, laughing, trifling crowd out for a holiday.

Yet the careful observer will rarely fail to find one or two real listeners at every such meeting. I know of one large and flourishing church, situated in a neighborhood of great poverty and vice, which sprang out of an open-air movement combined with a mission Sunday-school in the first place, and, having continued its out-of-door services until the present time, has actually gathered a large portion of its members from the streets.

A discussion of Christian work among the masses of London would be incomplete without some reference to that singular religious movement called *The Salvation Army*. The nature and methods of this organization are too well known to require description; but in order to be intelligently understood they should be studied on their native soil. About twenty years ago, when there was far less religious and philanthropic work for the poor than now, a certain unknown Wesleyan minister, William Booth by name, touched by the misery and godlessness of the place, commenced preaching the gospel to the poor on a waste piece of land near Mile End Road, East London. Out of that humble beginning sprang the Salvation Army, at whose head Mr. Booth continues to stand, the "general" of a host whose officers are now numbered by thousands, and the soldiers by hundreds of thousands, and whose operations are extended around the globe.

This is a mission from the lower classes, by the lower classes, and for the lower classes. It speaks to the common people in their own manner and their native language. The vernacular of the slums of London is practically a different language from that of the prayer-book and the pulpit. Religion, as the church ordinarily teaches it, is presented in a tongue half unknown to the day-laborer. The missionaries to the Indians have best succeeded in converting them, not by teaching them English first and then presenting the gospel in English, but by translating the truth into their own rough speech and bringing its messages home to their heart on the wings of the mother-tongue; so it is the plan of the Salvation Army to translate the messages of salvation into the rude lingo of the dockyard and the gin-palace in order that it may reach those who know no other language. For the same reason its music and its religious meetings resemble the entertainments given in cheap theatres and low concert halls.

It has many excellent features. The earnestness and courage of its leaders, and their enthusiasm for the salvation of the very lowest, cannot be too highly praised. The plainness of its speech and the faithfulness and power with which it bears its testimony

are to be commended. Much of the criticism urged against it is unjust. Utterances of its members that seem shockingly irreverent, and actions that seem rude, take that appearance because the observer judges from his own standpoint, and is unable to appreciate the sincerity from which they spring. It is, however, undoubtedly the case that the Salvation Army furnishes a striking illustration of the truth that the religion of a class, whether the class be high or low, must always be a narrow and one-sided religion. This movement, being exclusively one of the lower class, lacks just those elements that the presence of cultured members would give it. It needs ballast. It is enthusiastic, courageous, and hearty; but it is neither wise, nor thorough, nor profound. There is an excessive amount of evangelistic appeal; there is a grievous lack of religious and Biblical instruction. As to the value of its work on the whole, it is not easy to speak with certainty. One finds a great variety of opinions regarding it. Of its value in one direction, however, there is but one opinion. It has had a great influence in stirring up the churches to an appreciation of the needs of the poor and their duty toward the outcast.

It is encouraging to believe that the religious work of London is not without effect. There has been progress in the condition of the working classes within twenty-five years. Slowly but surely headway is making against the awful current of sin and misery. There is less drunkenness, less pauperism, and less crime in the great metropolis to-day than ten years ago. The missionary spirit is abroad in the churches and increases from year to year. "With God all things are possible," — and it is one of the modern miracles to see a city growing better while she adds daily to her immensity.

Samuel Lane Loomis.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

TRUMAN M. POST, D. D.

WHEN Truman M. Post was twenty-two years old, inducements were held out to him to enter the law office of Senator Rives of Virginia. It was the natural course for him to have taken. His intellectual bent was in the direction of the legal profession. At the time, the ministry seemed forever closed to him. He had been for months listening to the magnificent arguments of the supreme court and the debates of Congress at Washington, in

those great days when Marshall, majestic and simple, was upon the bench, and beside him Story, rich in legal and classic learning; when Wirt, Jones, and Taney were being heard in the supreme court; when the second Adams, Clay, Webster, Calhoun, Benton, Rives, and many others were heard in the chambers of Congress.

But there ran across the path of the young aspirant for legal pursuits the hero of Fort Croghan, General Duncan. He had cast in his lot with the mysterious land of promise, the virgin state of Illinois. With true Western enthusiasm and hospitality, he gave young Post such an invitation to go to the valley of the Mississippi, that he turned aside from the flattering invitations of the South to become, as he supposed, a lawyer in the far West.

Those who have known Dr. Post, with hair silvered, and a face such as the seer of Patmos might have had, would have failed to have recognized him then in the stalwart young man, six feet in height, muscular, and not a little of the Boanerges in his eye. His birth from genuine New England stock; his early life among the Vermont hills; his association with the farmers, who thought on the largest problems of civil and divine government; his contact with the students and professors of his Alma Mater, — had given him a splendid physique, and toned to the loftiest pitch an intellect rarely surpassed.

Affliction had put its hand upon him. He had only a few years before been brought to the grave. His friends had gathered about him to see him die. A soul like his could not and did not return from such a journey toward the eternities without bearing upon it the impress of the sights he saw and the voices he heard.

Few men have tried more honestly and earnestly to shape their career under the teachings of such an experience. He wanted, if he might, to stand before dying mortals with the message from the sky. One objection, and a fatal one, prevented him. He could not say that he believed the creed of the only churches which he could champion. He was not an unbeliever; but to stand up before men and declare his belief in doctrines that he had not studied, and as far as possible mastered, was abhorrent to his honest soul. Hoping that he might find relief, he went to Andover to study theology. He remained until, to his mind, the hoped-for result was impossible; and now we find him on the way, as he supposed, to Jacksonville to practice law. The date of this journey is sufficiently indicated by the fact, that from Washington he proceeded by horse-cars over a new railroad to the foot of the

Alleghanies, and over the mountains by stage, to descend by boat from Pittsburgh.

The journey was a leisurely one. It afforded time for a few hours at Marietta, and an interview with a man of mind not unlike his own, Henry Smith, president of the college. At Cincinnati he formed the acquaintance of Salmon P. Chase, then a young man twenty-four years of age; and, the two having much in common, at that hour began the friendship that served them well in the days when, comrades, they were to fight the grandest fight of the century. He met Dr. Lyman Beecher, and their conversation turned, as the talk of two such souls would naturally have gone, into lines that reached far into the mysteries. The vigorous mind and catholic spirit, the sympathetic nature, of the elder divine, did much toward clearing the theological views of the younger. Still he went forward in his purpose to enter the legal profession. Bidding good-by to the two men who in church and state had given him an impulse as a Christian patriot, on the same boat with General Harrison, then in his prime, he sailed on down the Ohio.

Dr. Post always loved to recall the week it took to reach St. Louis, "with the wild refrain of the colored boatmen ringing along shores frowning with primeval forests, or escarped cliffs pierced with caves, still haunted with fresh legions of brigands."

He came to what seemed to him "the end of the world," St. Louis, a French village of six or seven thousand inhabitants, unconscious of the tramp of the coming millions who were to break the wide stillness of nature. The hospitable people gave the young man a cordial welcome. He was pleased with them and the town, and arranged to enter the office of Hamilton Gamble, afterward the war governor of Missouri.

Before settling down to his proposed life-work, he determined to visit the man who had induced him to come West, General Duncan of Jacksonville. He went on foot by a bridle-path through the wilderness. "Never shall I forget," he writes, "my first vision and impression of the prairie, — the vast, silent, green waste, houseless, manless, the red man gone, the white man not yet entered; the ocean-like expanse, now a level plain, now rippling into verdant wavelets, now with a vast sea-roll of gradual rise and fall, occasionally bellowing into bluffs that bordered the river and the water-course, with long stretches and curvatures of forest flecked and embroidered with the redbud and the haw; the grassy desert, studded here and there with oases of the oak, maple, walnut, and the pecan,

fringed with the sassafras, the persimmon, and the sumach; and occasional islets of the wild plum, cherry, and apple scattered through the sea of verdure, and with their fragrance hitting the sense from afar, amid which the plumage of the paroquet glistened and the thrush and the mocking-bird burst into song: it seemed to me a fairy landscape. It was youth's walk amid the fields of morning."

The day went on. He became weary and footsore. Seated for a few moments to rest by a grassy brook, he bathed his bruised and fevered feet. Suddenly he came to himself. He seemed to hear a voice, "What dost thou here?" He saw himself "drifting, a lone waif on the great tidal stream of nations, a single lost drop in it, into the vast, mysterious West, and then onward — whither? But a hand above was beckoning onward." As if to add terror to the scene, a prairie storm with thunder came, "like the march of God from Mount Paran, fearful with the roll of his chariot wheels, and burning coals went forth at his feet." It passed. The bow of peace came, and, with the whole earth full of His praise, the youthful traveler went on his way.

Arriving at Jacksonville, Messrs. Edward Beecher and J. M. Sturtevant called upon the young stranger in behalf of the college, asking for temporary assistance in the instruction of the institution. He accepted, and two weeks afterwards met Rev. Asa Turner, — "Father Turner," of sainted memory, — who had been East to secure a professor of languages. He had visited Middlebury and Andover seeking for the man, who, he was told, had gone to Washington and then disappeared, no one knew whither, somewhere in the Southwest. The temporary arrangement was not long after changed into a permanent one, and fourteen years of service fastened the title, used by the older clergy of the Mississippi Valley of to-day, "Professor" Post.

In the year 1835 Professor Post married Miss Frances A. Henshaw, of Middlebury, Vt., and began the home life of which he writes: "Here in my secluded home, where the birds came early in the spring and staid late in the autumn, and sang in tempestuous orchestra in the morning or in the soft, sweet hymn of even, — here was the beginning of my family life. Here I dwelt with one sent from God, through beautiful and happy years, and little sons and daughters came to me, — beautiful and happy years, often of labor and weariness and cares and sickness and sorrows, under that discipline, kindly though stern, that on the whole makes life better and stronger and fitter for heaven."

In these years also were formed the strong ties of the friendships of early manhood, with such men as Hardin, Douglass, Baker, Lincoln, and Yates, and with those other men, sympathizing more fully with the religious views that he had, Edward Beecher, J. M. Sturtevant, Samuel Adams, Newton Bateman, and others. These also were years of profound religious experience. The date of the great change that came over his intellectual and spiritual life was perhaps the tedious and dangerous illness of 1833. Of this he says: "It was to me a revelation and a benediction. During the month of convalescence I was enfolded and entranced with a beatific sense of the love of God and of communion with Him and the spiritual world, accompanied with the feeling of glad and grateful devotion to Jesus Christ, such as I had never felt before. My religion passed more from perplexed and anxious speculations to glad and Christward personal love and delighted self-consecration."

Naturally this new life craved a manifestation of itself. Friends from New England, who had gone after the fashion of the day into the Presbyterian Church, warned him not to risk his future usefulness and influence by joining the little Congregational Church just organized in the place. Astonished at the idea of submitting principles of church order to questions of secular or social expediency, he resented the proposed compromise, followed the instincts of his manhood, and "delighted in the spiritual franchise of our Lord."

It was not in the ordinary way that he entered the church. The wise pastor did not insist upon a strict observance of all the usual requirements for membership. The candidate was asked to do nothing which he could not conscientiously and intelligently do, and in the small upper room over a printing-office united his fortunes with the despised, insignificant company of believers, the only Congregational Church west of Ohio.

Not long after came the panic of 1837. The college soon was in straits. Its patrons had lost their all. Should the young professor enter upon the practice of the law to provide for his family? While deciding this question, a delegation from the church urged him to take license and preach. To preach he was willing, but to have any body of men over him, as authority in the matter of speaking for Christ, he could not. The most that he could do was to ask for recommendation from the Association, as competent and representative men, to the churches. The Association was startled at his demand. On inquiry, however, they found that the

course which he proposed was Congregational. He was granted his request and began to preach.

The fame of the young preacher went abroad. The growing metropolis of St. Louis coveted the pastor of the country church. They sent a delegation to urge him to move to the city. There were two objections in his own mind against going to St. Louis: he was attached to the college; he was "unwilling to lay his bones in a slave state, or commit his family to its destinies." Two reasons were in its favor: he could by the change be freed from urgent pecuniary embarrassment; he might do something to make Missouri a free state. Repeated and urgent calls resulted in an answer, which must be publicly read before the congregation, who after hearing it should again vote, and on the basis of the communication. His terms were these: that he would go for four years; that in the matter of slavery he regarded holding human beings as property as a violation of the first principles of the Christian religion; that, while he would not require of the church to adopt his views as to the mode of the removal of slavery, every Christian should be alive to the inquiry after some mode and his duty thereto; that he must be guaranteed liberty of opinion and speech. Save on these conditions he would not go, for "God did not call him to add himself to the number of the slaves already in Missouri."

To the statement often made, that he should change his views as others before him had done, he replied: "My convictions and principles in regard to slavery belong to the primal elements of my thinking and the very essence of my Christian manhood, and were incorporated with whatever was worth anything about me; and if I could surrender them, I should cease to be worth your calling or procuring." He also wrote them that he was a Congregationalist, and should remain one. The answer of the church was that they had done as he required, and wished more than ever to have him come. Going in this way he had liberty and found tolerance. The four years of his engagement quickly passed. During them, repeatedly asked to take the lead of a movement to form a Congregational Church, he replied that the peculiarity of his position forbade his doing anything to disturb ecclesiastical relations. He was told that many of his members by origin and all in their opinions were Congregationalists, that there was room for such a church in St. Louis and need of it, and all that he was asked to do was to guide the movement ready to be made. He again firmly declined to do anything which in appearance might

be construed as playing a false part while pastor of a Presbyterian church. Neither did he feel called upon to oppose the movement. As a result the church, without any knowledge on his part of the purpose or fact of their meeting, of their own motion and without consultation with their pastor, met, and with almost a unanimous vote decided upon a change of polity. Professor Post was called to the pastorate of the church; it seemed a call from God. The city needed such a church, and many, who could not enter existing organizations, were in danger of being lost to the Church of Christ unless such a step was taken.

The churches of the Pilgrim Fathers had thus a representative among the forces that were shaping the growing center of the new Southwest. "It was a little child, born under the shadows of slavery," the only one in all the South. It demanded a right to live and grow, and, in spite of opposition, contempt, and calumny, it lived and grew. Men of wealth and influence were attracted by the poet-preacher, whose life had a charm unsurpassed by his sermons.

By nature of a judicial cast of mind, Dr. Post could not be a partisan; and as the days of drawing sharp lines between the friends and foes of human slavery came on, although all knew that he was unalterably opposed to the peculiar institution, there were not a few slaveholders, and men who defended the system of slavery, who were among his warm friends and liberal supporters.

Congregations became large, and were composed of the very best people of the growing metropolis. One sanctuary after another was outgrown, until a large building, erected after the pattern of an Ionic temple, was crowded to its utmost. But meanwhile forces were at work, national in their reach, which acted with great violence in the border land between the North and the South, — the Kansas troubles, the Missouri border ruffianism, the triumph of the anti-slavery party, the fall of Sumter, and the uprising of the North. Men's souls were tried. Old friends were separated. Households were divided. Jealousies, suspicions, open rupture, abounded. Dr. Post, in an autobiographical discourse (from which I have quoted) a decade later, thus describes these hours: —

"The dark genius that brooded over the land, growing ever more aggressive and imperious, challenging more and more arrogantly the spirit of the age, of progress, civilization, and Christianity, was claiming at last to force into its service the temples of religion and the oracles of God. The murmur and tremor as of a

coming earthquake was in the deeps below our national structure. At last the fatal hour struck. The repressed forces upheaved and chaos came again, and darkness was upon the face of the deep. The sun became as blackness and the moon as blood, and the stars fell from heaven and the old world passed away. The long silence of the heavens broken, the Majesty of Darkness came forth from his secret chambers for judgment: 'a fiery stream went forth before him and burning plagues were at his feet.' 'The earth saw and trembled, and the perpetual hills did bow.' Then were the thrones cast down and the books were opened. In the awful arbitrament of wrath and ruin, The Highest gave his voice, and the dark spirit that had brooded over the land so long was cast out and driven into the outer dark, and the shackles fell from millions of hands. The storm passed, the bow of peace was seen in the broken clouds, and the sunlight broke in on a land where the hands and words of men were free." What was it to have lived these years, — a lone representative of thought and feeling that was challenged at every street corner, in the parlor, and on the rostrum, and nowhere more sharply than at the church-door! With the cries of the slave, the sound of arms, the varying fortunes of the tremendous conflict in his ears, his life, his dwelling, his family in peril, the oncoming cataract stealing his vision, with unfaltering faith, calm courage, unruffled temper, the fearless and none the less loving arraignment of evil, he passed the long days and the longer nights until the end came.

But with the destruction of the forces of slavery and the expansion and emancipation of thought there came not unalloyed delight. Movements, which did not wholly meet the approval of one who had dreamed of a different future, distressed him. Zeal, without knowledge as he thought, worried him. It was left to others to build upon the foundations which he had firmly placed.

He lived to see the sole church which he had championed represented by twelve organizations in the city of his adoption, and fourscore churches in the commonwealth. This progress and advance came not with even pace. Rapid at first, its course was checked, and men learned that proclamations may free slaves in a day, but time only, and a very long time, can make thought free. It was a rich commonwealth that received his life labor. Its untold resources its own citizens have little conception of, and the vast world outside knows nothing of. Here and there a glimpse has been caught of its future possibilities; and as the years go by, the day may not be far distant, suddenly there shall roll away the

barrier to its magnificent future, and then will be discovered also the hidden forces which, working wellnigh silently during the past, will leap forth with unsurpassed might, forces shaped and controlled by the thought, the faith, the life, of the founder of our order in our State.

What these forces were it would be well to designate. They have been hinted at in the story of his career. They deserve distinct statement and enumeration.

His Mind. — As Dr. Post lay in his coffin, some for the first time beheld the shape of the head and the lines of the countenance which were the worthy abode of his master intellect. Always he had been a striking personage among his fellows. But perhaps the benignity of his face had drawn away attention from its strength. There was a grouping of graces in his mind. He had the gifts of a poet, a philosopher, an historian, and a seer. Formal poetry he did not write, but rarely did he preach upon a lofty theme without breathing into it the truest poetry. His was the vocabulary of a poet who fills every word with beauty, and who can call into being words better than any current terms to express thoughts begotten in his own soul. The flight of his imagination was the wonder and admiration of those who heard him on great occasions,—flights into regions so lofty as to strike terror into the hearts of all who had not learned that no height made him lose poise. His face, as he stood before an audience, disclosed the soul of the poet. His fancy found play in the lighter efforts of his mind, in the abandon of conversation sparkling with wit and humor.

History was his favorite pursuit. The men of the past lived in his thinking, and the deeds of bygone ages were as vivid as present transactions. The rare faculty of a correct perspective was his, the ability to group events also. The "trend of affairs," as he often expressed it, was the constant object of his search. It seems at times a mistake which made a mind fitted for such pursuits so full of the busy affairs of life, that the world will never see from his pen the judgment that he had formed of the past: but we console ourselves with the thought, that to make history is greater than to write history; that to have such a mind working out life-thoughts in the most sensitive community, during the hours of the greatest transformation of our nation's life, was an amazing provision of Providence.

And he was a philosopher. The deep things of God, the farthest reaches of the human mind, engaged his thought. He was of the Lord's chosen ones bidden by the Master to "launch out into the

deep." In his later years the richness of his conversation upon vast themes was only surpassed by its breadth and vigor. Others might be content with the beauty of the ocean of truth: he sounded its deeps to discover the hidden treasures. Systems he did not formulate, doctrines he cared little to develop; but the thoughts that underlie systems, the truths that stand behind doctrines, were his delight. For he was a seer. The logical processes that other minds must employ he overleaped. The trodden paths that others walked in he had left behind. The mountain top, whence could be seen at a glance the greatest truths, was the outlook he had gained. Of him it could be said, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

Other men in his day may have surpassed him in the vastness of their attainments, in the patience of their research, in accuracy of detail, but few have had his intimate, direct, loving acquaintance with truth. It is not surprising that such a mind welcomed with eagerness any new manifestation of truth, abhorred all restraints on those who were searching for the verities, demanded for himself and for others liberty of thought. Oldness, newness, were nothing; trueness, to him, was everything.

His Soul. — Dr. Post was supremely honest of soul. Where other men could lightly give assent to a creed and thus join a church and enter the ministry, he stood back appalled. The vast truths of the confession and the catechism must be his before he could declare them true. I shall never forget the shudder with which he recalled an attempt to commit a mass meeting of one of our large societies against a dogma at the time regarded unorthodox. "Who of those who voted for or against the motion," said he, "knew the teaching of the Scriptures upon the question? What if those who are voting against heresy, as they thought, were voting against the Bible?"

"Dr. Post, as usual, voting on both sides of the question," said a member of the Missouri Association, little appreciating the fact that Dr. Post could not shut his eyes to the truth which is nearly always found upon both sides of questions which come before Christian men for discussion. The church which he founded has a creed, the work of the hand of its founder, twenty-five years in advance of the creeds of its day; but no man, woman, or child found this creed, or any creed, standing across the portal of his church. It distressed him to learn that a new convert, who had no instruction or little thought upon the truths that it contained, desired to stand up before God and men and de-

clare his belief in its different articles. It was all that he dared ask of any that they should be received after his saying to the congregation, "These persons have, on previous personal examination, exhibited satisfactory conformity with the following statement of the great truth of Christianity exhibited in the confession of faith of this church." The only vows asked were those of consecration and service. In more than one direction looked this pregnant passage from the dedication sermon which Dr. Post preached at the opening of his church in 1852: "Here we inaugurate a gospel free in vindicating the eternal rights of the human soul to God's truth and its private judgment thereon. May the gospel here never be bound! Chain up, if you will, the senate chamber, the court-house, the forum, but may the gospel never come forth in this place wearing manacles! Wretched the preacher, wretched the people, that will suffer chains on it. Eternal chains await them both."

His was a Christ-loving soul. He loved, with all the intensity of his being, the Christ. His soul was knit with the soul of our Lord. To Him he referred all questionings and doubts. It mattered little what theories were held upon this or that fact of God's Word or government. Jesus was to him "the way, the truth, and the life." Acquainted with all the planets and knowing their motions, he learned them all by the study of the central Sun. In the last published utterances of Dr. Post I find these words: "The present need of the Christian world is a new resurrection of our Lord from the dead, another mighty angel to roll away the stone from the sepulchre. We need a new walk with the risen Christ to Emmaus, and to feel our hearts burn within us as He opens to us the Scriptures. We need another Pentecostal effusion of the Holy Spirit guiding the church with the consciousness of Him as a living personal presence. There needs a new enthronement and coronation of Him, another Apocalypse and unveiling of Him as King of kings and Lord of lords."

His Heart. — Dr. Post, commanding as was his intellect, lofty as was his soul, to those who knew him best owed to a loving heart the secret of his power. His was not the affection of a passionate nature loud in its expression, nor of a jealous disposition imperious in its demands, nor of an exclusive cast with its few favorites. He had friends everywhere and of all classes and conditions, of those who loved him, not merely because he was great and good, but because he loved them. Strong men, tender women, and little children bewailed their loss when it was said that he was

dead. "St. Louis had three saints, now there are but two," said a prominent banker on the day of his funeral. "Was not that the apostle John?" said a little girl who, after hearing of the revelator and his last words, "Little children, love one another," felt for the first time the hand of the aged pastor-emeritus on her head.

Three generations mourned a dear friend, — the few equal in age to himself, who with him had passed through the valley of the shadows of a great national conflict; the many into whose life had been wrought the instructions which he had given them in their youth; the boys and girls who, when the twentieth century shall have dawned, will recall the face they were taught to revere and learned to love. How such a heart can suffer when those whom he loves forsake, neglect, try to injure him! And the heart of the man who deserves no foes, but none the less has the bitterness of enemies, can by the help of God keep to itself its agony and quench revenge, hatred, and malice. It was from others than the sufferer that men learned of the wounds which Dr. Post received.

His great soul was like an ivy rather than the oak. It never seemed to any one who came near him that he demanded aught of homage, or even respect. He loved because he needed to love, and was not ashamed to disclose this need. He carried the griefs of a thousand hearts. Sickness in a home summoned him, and death there made his presence a necessity. The cemetery, at the opening of which he delivered perhaps the master oration of his life, is now the densely populated abode of hundreds who were carried thither by his loving hands.

Dr. Post was fortunate in the hour of his death. He was not called to live until his powers had decayed, and those who had known him in his greatness must needs remark his decline: in full possession of his mind, interested in all that was transpiring in the world of thought about him, his beloved church transplanted from the scene of inevitable defeat to that of assured success, he fell asleep. There is a marvelous opportuneness in the hour of such a departure. Men are still living who appreciate and delight in the work of the generation to which he belonged. The judgment which approves only the work of the present generation has not become universal.

Judged by the standards that are now forming, the standards by which men are now being measured, Dr. Post's life would be regarded less than that of many men his inferior in mind, heart,

and soul. He did the work of the generation he lived in, not the work allotted those who followed him. The passion for method in church life, the eager energy in giving and employing money for the coming of the kingdom, the off-hand presentation of truth, and (I speak of it approvingly) the kindergartenism of church life, did not prevail in his time.

Men possessed of capabilities in these directions are the men of this hour, not of his hour. Judged by the only just standard of judgment, that of his generation, Dr. Post has few peers. What he ought to have done as an organizer of educational institutions or the founder of churches can never be answered until has been learned how large a part of the work that he did accomplish would have been left undone, had he given his time and attention to labors belonging either to minds of a different mold or times of a different date.

But what this man did he never would boast of, nor suffer those who loved him to bruit abroad. His only glory was in the Lord, whom he adored and loved. He has written in his own matchless way the relation which he held to Jesus, and with his eloquent tribute of love to the Adorable One this brief sketch of his life shall close : —

“I find myself under a system which of itself, unless supplanted by some further revelation, leaves me with no moral deliverance. My moral nature is cold and dead. God is glorious and the universe is beautiful. But I am helpless, hopeless, lost. I sink beneath the glory and the beauty as the desperate swimmer sinks beneath the splendors of the nightly skies in the depths of ocean.

“But now, as I look around in the very crisis of my despair, lo! the heavens are open, a wondrous person descends from the bosom of the Father, revealing the beauty of his unspeakable love in a human form, that wears for me mortality and suffers and dies for me.

“As I behold, a new spiritual power enfolds me. I feel myself in a new universe. New life beats through my whole being. Divine love, stooping to my nature and proving itself through suffering, is mightier than my guilt, my fear, my despair. It subdues me to repentance, to faith, to hope, to love. It enravishes me, it transforms me. Cloud and darkness pass from before the Throne. The emerald bow of peace engirds it. The intolerable brightness is shaded into the sweetness of human sympathy. Wide flung are the gates of the city of God. Hands that were pierced for me

hold open its portals; One that has redeemed me, and washed me from my sins in his own blood, that cried on the cross, 'Father, forgive!' bids me come up thither, — a saved soul."

James G. Merrill.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI.

MISSION WORK IN CHINA.

II.

My two months' stay in China is at an end. What report shall I make concerning my chief object of interest while there, — the spread of Christ's kingdom? Never have I been more impressed with the need of patience and a suspense of judgment in reaching conclusions.

There are at work in China, not deducting those at home on furlough, about 600 Protestant missionaries, representing thirty-three societies, — British, American, and Continental. In every one of the eighteen provinces, with perhaps a single exception, some of these missionaries are to be found. Besides this, the Roman Catholics are present in force at almost every strategic point. The Greek Church is found at Peking, Hankow, and possibly elsewhere, but undertakes little.

Of the 600 missionaries, I have met and conversed with about 125, representing twenty-one societies, British, American, and Continental. In fourteen of their central stations I have seen them at work. Those stations were not only on the coast, at such points as Chefoo, Shanghai, Foochow, Amoy, Swatow, and Canton, but lay along two of China's great rivers, — Tientsin, Yungchow, and Peking, on or near the Peiho; Hankow, Wuchang, Kinkiang, and Wuhu along the Yangtszekiang. Yet, while I have used every opportunity to see and study the mission work, I have realized more and more at every step that my observation was necessarily very superficial, and that my judgment should be extremely cautious.

That ready access to and easy intercourse with native Christians which is so common in Japan is almost unknown in China. The language forms an insuperable barrier to the stranger, and one is largely dependent on the missionaries for his opinions of the work they are doing. Yet both the experiences and the testimonies of missionaries differ widely. The variety of judgment which

always obtains at home is increased here by the immensity and difficulty of the subjects dealt with; by the necessary ignorance of Chinese life and thought; and by the gulf between the Occidental and the Oriental mind. Besides all this, the testimonies of other resident Europeans, especially merchants and consuls, add fresh elements of difficulty, and require separate consideration. It sometimes seems here as if quite contradictory statements were equally true. *Ex uno disce omnes* must be carefully applied. There is a greater heterogeneousness in China than is generally supposed. Moreover, in the numerous stations I have visited, including the chief centres of Roman Catholic operation, I cannot presume that I have been able to study the mission work in its simplest, best, and most encouraging forms. These are only to be found, for the most part, in the country, away from the open ports, among the substantial peasant class, who form the main hope both for China and the gospel.

Yet superficial and inadequate as my study of this great subject has necessarily been, it has furnished abundant material for certain distinct conclusions, which I give for what they are worth.

As to the coöperation in missionary work, so prominent in Japan, I regret to say that in China there have occurred but few opportunities for this, and of those few but one has, to my knowledge, been thoroughly improved. When the Amoy missionaries of the Reformed Dutch Church reported to their friends at home, some twenty-five years ago, that the Chinese Christians under their charge had effected a union with those under the charge of the English Presbyterians at the same place, there came, as many will remember, prompt remonstrance from the American Synod and an order to sever the union. When the missionaries, to their lasting credit, refused to obey, and appealed to the home churches, the following Synod, better instructed and truer to God's kingdom, left the matter to the discretion of its missionaries. The result was that the classic instance of such coöperation as is prevalent in Japan is to be found to-day at Amoy, and Amoy alone. The venerable Dr. Talmage is still at work there, and uses his influence in behalf of the union of God's people in the same work.

There are hints given of the possible formation here of a Presbyterian Synod by the union of the Amoy, Swatow, and Formosa Presbyteries, the distances and differences in dialect not being so great as to prevent such intercourse. All this shows what is possible under the most favoring circumstances. The country, how-

ever, is so vast, the stations are so widely scattered, and the dialects so numerous and divergent, that as yet there are but few instances where different missions of the same denominational family are thrown together. Yet I noted one or two cases where, to a careful observer, it would seem as if a coöperation in mission work were both practicable and desirable.

With the exception of a strong mission at Foochow and a single man in the province of Canton, the field of the American Congregationalists is entirely in North China. The English Congregationalists, also, have efficient missions in Tientsin and Peking, which are two stations of the American Board. What is there to hinder a union of this work?

There has been some talk of a Christian college at Tientsin or Peking, under charge of the American Congregationalists. Why not erect it under the combined auspices of London and Boston? Why not connect all the schools and churches of these two missions, and unite all the stations into one association? I can see no real hindrance to this, provided only the laborers are on such personal terms that they can work together, as do all branches of the Presbyterian body in Japan. Dr. McKenzie's splendid hospital at Tientsin, the American training-school at Yung Chow, the schools and churches at Peking, — think of these bound together, reinforcing one another, building up the Congregational churches of China!

The Northern and Southern Presbyterians are at work separately at Hangchow. Why should they not be united?

It would seem as if the American Methodist work along the Yangtze might easily be united with the English Wesleyan at Hankow and Wuchang; and also as if the work of Mr. Hagar and any who may reinforce him at Hong Kong and Canton might profitably be combined either with that of the American Presbyterians or the London Congregationalists, both of whom have active missions in the same region. There may be difficulties in the way of which I know nothing, but, so far as is apparent, only gain would be the result of such union.

There is one other point in this connection to be carefully considered by Christians at home. A demand for Western learning must before long spring up throughout China. Modern studies must take their places beside the Chinese classics at the provincial and imperial examinations on which all official promotion depends. When that day comes, it will be important to have the teachings of these branches in the hands of Christians and not of

skeptics. To this end, Christian colleges might well be founded all over China as the germs of future Christian universities. Well would it be if these colleges could be undenominational in character. If that is too much to expect, there might at least be a careful division of territory, instead of a crowding of institutions at a few points, while others equally important are left unprovided for.

It would seem hardly fitting to talk of any one central college or university of China, for the reason that no institution could assume that position any more than could be founded a central college of Europe. China has eighteen provinces, and, it is estimated, a population of 350,000,000. Each of her provinces is, in some sense, a kingdom in itself, with from fifteen to thirty millions of inhabitants, and with such differences of dialect that often those in the same province cannot understand one another. Now, if a Christian college could be provided for each one or two provinces, every such college would be central, and have far more on hand than it could ever accomplish. There might, therefore, be a well-understood agreement between different Mission Boards not to sanction the foundation of a new college in any place where another is already established. At Foochow, for instance, the Northern Methodists have an Anglo-Chinese college which is the germ of a great institution. It would be most unwise and unfortunate for Congregationalists, although they have a mission here, to think of starting another college of like grade and purpose right beside this, and that, too, when the field at Peking is as yet unoccupied.

At Shanghai there is also an Anglo-Chinese college, which has already cost, I am told, \$100,000. It is built, with large aims for the future, by the Southern Methodists, and occupies the field. St. John's College near by, under the charge of the Episcopalians, is also doing much, although its main work, I believe, is soon to be removed to Hankow. It would seem undesirable for the Presbyterians to raise a large amount of money to establish a college at Shanghai, while at Canton, where they are much stronger, there is great need and opportunity for such an enterprise. Let there be a fair division of the field. Let every province be occupied, first by the evangelist, then by the teacher, and finally by the college; but let each Christian who gives to these causes see to it that his money does not go to duplicate labors and institutions which should be broadly distributed.

When I come to the subject of *Self-support*, I touch that which

is the burning point of mission thought and discussion in China to-day. The use of foreign-paid native help is at the present time a vexed matter in all mission fields. But it has unusual complications in China.

The excessive poverty of the people, their practical character, coupled with their ease in memorizing and fluency of expression, led the earlier missionaries to employ a great number of native helpers. And much was to be said for this arrangement. To support a missionary costs, say, \$1,000 a year. For the same amount he could secure as many as ten additional Chinese evangelists, who would be apt scholars and fluent preachers among their countrymen. Why not thus multiply himself by ten?

It seemed a very clear case. But long experience has proved that it was a very bad case. The old apostolic saying that the love of money is the root of all evil is nowhere more true than in China, and particularly in the mission work.

It came to pass in many instances that a large proportion of the Christians connected with the various missions were, either directly or indirectly, gaining their livelihood from their profession of Christianity. They were trading on this as their capital. They were religious parasites, as ready to make a business of preaching the gospel as of anything else, if paid six or seven dollars a month for it. Godliness was to them great gain. What they received and what they "squeezed" gave them a competence. They were, as a missionary has well remarked, "Church compradores," transacting its business in as secular a spirit as if acting for a business firm.

Although there is some difference of testimony as well as of experience, the evils of this old system can hardly be exaggerated. There were, without doubt, some sincere Christians among the men thus employed, yet even these were contaminated by the system. Nor did it injure them alone. The fact that they were known to be in foreign pay at once created a barrier against them in the minds of their countrymen. When the missionary talked with them, even though he might live in what they regarded as a fine house, yet they could feel some force in his assurance that he had come to China solely to bring them the gospel. When, however, they saw their fellows suddenly enriched by the new profession, they did not despise them, for most would have done the same thing, but they gave no heed to their instructions. To them, these helpers were simply hirelings, paid to talk as they did, which they regarded as no reason for their listening.

While, at first, this general employment of native helpers appeared the only thing to be done, there can be little doubt that the extensive use of this system has been one reason for the small and poor results of missions in China. Perhaps a seemingly slower method at the start might have proved a surer and more rapid one. There is, at any rate, a growing disposition among all the missionaries to cut down the number of paid native helpers.

Yet it is exceedingly hard to get rid of the old practice. Some missionaries, notably Dr. Nevins, have changed their field of labor in order to be free to inaugurate new and truer methods. And in every mission I visited I found some who were doing all they could to bring their work out from the old forms into a new order and system.

There seemed to be only this difference among them. Some, while admitting that too many native helpers had been employed, and that the system has been abused, yet maintain that wherever true and tried men can be found they ought to be employed. Others, largely under the inspiration of Dr. Nevins's work, desire to abandon the old measures altogether. Instead of starting with a foreign-built chapel, occupied by a foreign-paid helper, and a congregation attracted by hope of foreign gain, they would start with a group of native Christians meeting in a native house, and, with the aid of missionaries, developing their own resources.

Undoubtedly this new departure may be carried too far. Even Dr. Nevins has one or two native helpers traveling with him. A degree of foreign-paid native help seems indispensable. Young missionaries, fresh from home, may rashly undertake impossible enterprises. But the articles of Dr. Nevins, issued first in the "Chinese Recorder," and just now in pamphlet form, are at once expressive and formative of the most advanced sentiment in the Chinese mission work. To me they also seem to represent the main hope of success.

The features Dr. Nevins presents are not wholly new. Many have said to me: "We have for a long time been working on that line." But these methods are not everywhere applicable. There is a great difference in the provinces, as there is also between city and country work. Yet it is a transition period in China, and out of these discussions and experiments I believe new and better methods will be evolved.

In this connection I would say that, as Amoy stands quite alone in its work of union, so it seems to be far ahead in this matter of self-support. In that district each of four groups of congrega-

tions jointly supports a pastor. This movement began six years ago. The membership in two of these groups is one hundred or more, the amount paid to each pastor being about \$150 a year. The annual contributions of the native Christians in this Presbytery are estimated at an average of about \$2.50 a member, which is a large sum when the poverty of the people is considered. Why may not this method be possible in other parts of China?

Self-support is being pressed in other departments than the evangelistic. Dr. McKenzie's hospital at Tientsin is the most striking instance of a great institution entirely supported by the Chinese; but it is not the only hospital which brings no expense to the Mission. A large part, or the whole, of the cost of the medical work in the London Mission Hospital at Shanghai, and the one just being erected in Hong Kong, in the American Congregational Hospital at Foochow, the Presbyterian in Canton, and in other places, is met either by the foreign community or by the Chinese.

In the educational work, of the \$14,000 required to build the Methodist Anglo-Chinese College at Foochow, Mr. Ah Hok, a wealthy Chinese merchant of that city, gave \$10,000. Pupils are no longer paid for going to school, as was formerly done, while there is a persistent attempt to make them assume a part of the burden of their own education. Most scholars now furnish their own clothing, which they did not do formerly. And many schools, especially in South China, simply give them in money a part of what their board actually costs them.

In some cases, especially in the Anglo-Chinese colleges, a slight amount is charged for tuition, the sum being increased from time to time as the school fills up after each depletion caused by the previous rise. All this shows the greater value placed on Christian education. In some country districts the missionaries have agreed to furnish a native teacher for a day-school wherever the natives will erect a schoolhouse, and this offer has been frequently accepted. In the hospitals, too, the patients are usually required to furnish their food, or its equivalent in cash. Thus men are helped to help themselves, rice-Christians are weeded out so far as possible, and the groundwork is slowly laid for churches composed of independent, self-respecting Christians.

There is another question back of the special methods employed in the mission work, which is being anxiously asked by many Christians at home: What of the mission work itself? Has it proved, will it prove, a success? Are the missionaries doing their work right?

From the lips of many European merchants long resident in China, from some consuls, from young men who have served as officers on Chinese coasting steamers, there comes sharp criticism, and sometimes utter condemnation of the missionaries and their work. Along the coast, on water and on land, missionaries are dissected and served up in every variety of form, till the church at home is made to appear extremely unwise in supporting such enterprises.

Some of this talk floats homeward. We hear of the extravagance, the mistakes, divisions, peccadilloes, and vices of missionaries; of the small chapel and the large house built with the "few remaining bricks"; of the impossibility of converting the Chinese, on account of their exceeding badness or goodness, as the case may be: and many a Christian is puzzled or dismayed by what he hears.

A large number of these reports are concentrated on this land, and the writer well recollects the feeling he began at one time to entertain, that in China at least there must be something wrong, some screw loose, some fatal error of policy or principle, in the mission work. It is the old story of mingled truth and falsehood, and of falsehood growing strong for its evil work through the truth on which it feeds.

With great regret it must be admitted that the mission work in China has been characterized by many and far-reaching divisions, which in some cases have become dissensions. The old question of terms of God was one of the earliest, and it engendered much bitterness at one time, threatening to become a national strife between American and English missionaries. Members of one party would sometimes hardly recognize those of the opposing party. The Spirit of God was now and then lost in zeal for a name of God. Even to this day some of the older missionaries cannot speak of the matter without deep feeling.

Yet there has been, I believe, some tendency towards unity of practice, and still more of heart. Most have agreed to disagree, and the younger men refuse to allow the old difference to affect their work.

It is true in China, as at home, that sectarianism often rends the body of the Lord, and becomes a scandal to the world. It is also true that personal differences between members of the same mission sometimes grieve away the Holy Spirit. I have known cases of ill-treatment among missionaries which would make one's blood boil. In all this, the church abroad is no better than

the church at home, and I think no worse, except so far as the peculiar circumstances of foreign work involve greater temptations. In general, there seems to be increasing unity among missionaries here, although the day of true coöperation is still to dawn on them. We may well pray for greater harmony in their ranks, and then ask them to make the same prayer for the church at home.

Not without reason is the complaint that there are not enough men of commanding ability sent into the field. The same is the case in the home field. It is also true that not enough laborers of any kind are sent to China. There is room for devoted men, of whatever class: while certain ones should be qualified to meet the subtle minds of the literati, the majority will come in contact only with simple peasants and laborers. It is a false charge that the missionary band comprises any number of those who could not have succeeded in other work. For most, the coming has involved a sacrifice of money, of comfort, and of reputation. Missionary talent in China averages certainly as high as ministerial talent at home. In order to find the best sinologists, the best authorities in all departments of Chinese life, character, customs, language, and religion, one must usually go to the missionaries, seldom, certainly, to the merchants or naval officers. Such names as those of Marshman, Morrison, Williams, Legge, Edkins, Eitel, and Chalmers, will remain unsurpassed in their own provinces. I have been repeatedly assured by intelligent Chinamen that no foreigner in Peking and few of their own countrymen have a better comprehension of China, or greater influence with officials, than our own Dr. Martin, President of the Imperial University of Peking, and long a missionary of the Presbyterian Board.

It cannot be denied that many mistakes have been made in the past, and that many are still made; also, that a great number of the reputed converts are so only in appearance, and that the actual results of missionary efforts in China are as yet comparatively small. But I have found none so keen critics of their work as the missionaries themselves. It is a self-corrective work, and many an error is being discarded before we at home have discovered that it is an error. Only those who have visited this country can begin to comprehend the difficulties involved in the conversion of a single Chinaman; still less the impenetrable front which the rock of Chinese sentiment, grounded on centuries of fixed custom and tradition, opposes to the swelling flood of Christian influence. As it rises, cliff-like, against the incoming tide, it seems as if only

some vast revolution could sink its proud heights beneath the waves. Yet, even if this does not come, the waters will gradually honeycomb the rocks and wear them away. As these obstacles are incredibly, almost undiscoverably great, the results of Christian effort are, at the best, discouragingly small. Meantime, little rills are filtering through the stony soil, and some souls are being saved. Those who believe in the invincibility of their Lord will endure in their faith and work to the sure and glorious end.

Various other alleged facts cannot be contradicted. There are many cases where a small chapel has been built with a large house beside or behind it. Indeed, this is the rule, not the exception. And it is what is called for. A chapel seating two or three hundred meets every need of most missions. But the house may be a mission home for the family, the boarders, the guests, and, perhaps, the day or boarding school.

It is also true that many missionaries in China live very comfortably — much more comfortably than some at home suppose. But it is false that, apart from possible exceptions, they live extravagantly or luxuriously. Usually they do not live as well as might appear when they bring forward their best for the frequent visitors whom their hospitality welcomes. In many respects they live better than they could at home on the same salaries. I have heard some of them say: "We live too comfortably, and should practice more self-denial." Yet I think none who know the stipends they receive will charge them with being over-paid. They may have four or five servants, where at home they would have but one. But the four or five cost them little more than would that one at home, and accomplish little, if any, more. The important thing, however, is, that in the midst of a foreign and heathen nation, in a climate which frequently tests the strongest constitution, in a struggle with the most difficult of all languages, and with customs, errors, traditions, and superstitions as inveterate as they are antagonistic, the missionaries need some things which they might dispense with at home. Nothing is more essential than to keep up their health and spirits. Deprived of the continual reinforcement which comes from a familiar land, a favoring climate, and a sympathetic and intelligent community, their home is the one human means of cheer and strength. Those homes cannot be made too comfortable. They must eat well and rest well, and with as little domestic worry as possible. Like race-horses, missionaries are too expensive an investment not to receive such care as will best fit them for their work.

It is estimated that, owing to the climate and other causes, it costs twice as much to keep an English soldier in India as in his own country. In that wearing, tropical region, what are comforts at home become necessities, and what are luxuries, simple comforts. It is much the same with the soldier of the Cross. He may spend several months of the year in itinerating among the natives, in great discomfort and privation, exposed to disease, the prey to discouragement, attacked in every sense of body and mind, while his wife, if she does not accompany him, is equally laborious at home. Surely if any human beings need a Chamber of Peace and Refreshment it is such missionaries. If additional servants can save time and strength for their work, if comfortable homes can fortify them against sickness or disheartenment, by all means they should have them. There is much to be said on this subject, but I will leave it here with a single word more. If a few frank statements could be made to our churches by our home Boards it might do much to forestall these carping comments, and to put the church into a more genuine sympathy with the actual condition of our missionaries and with their work.

Other criticisms might be treated in the same way. Ministers, at home or abroad, are but human, and therefore liable to err, and to just criticism. But in ability, wisdom, piety, and a thorough devotion to their work, the missionary body stands, certainly, fully as high as the clergy at home. And, considering the difficulties, the results are as great.

Beyond this, the question might be put to every unfriendly critic: "Do you believe in Christianity? Do you admit its divine character, its universal and exclusive claims, its world-wide destiny? If so, apart from minor details, you must believe in missions. If not, all basis for agreement is removed."

I candidly confess that before visiting China I had, and could have had, very little idea of the vast difficulty of the mission task, or of the total inadequacy of all previous missionary efforts. China stands both higher and lower than I had supposed. Its civilization is more complex, its social institutions more developed, its government more powerful. Merchants testify rather universally to the existence of a high code of honor among Chinese business men, and the expression is common: "I would rather trust the plain agreement of a Chinaman than of my own countrymen."

Some features of domestic life are noble, not only in theory but in practice. The strength of the filial tie which binds together

families and generations is intense beyond our conceptions. This is, in fact, the bond of China, the living wall of isolation, stronger far than the Great Wall which shuts it out from the rest of mankind. Where it is the one principle and the one passion of a people to tread in the steps of the fathers, and where all future bliss depends on their being included, by the worship of their children, in the great ancestral line, the fascination of Western innovations has little charm.

The only great changes which they have accepted have been forced on them by the need of national defense. These are the telegraph, and modern shipping — steamers and men-of-war. When railroads are built, it will be for the same reason. But even in these changes the Chinese decidedly prefer, and not unwisely, to be their own agents, rather than commit their navies, trade, and transportation to the hand of foreigners.

Yet joined with these traits are others far worse in kind and in degree than I had imagined. Official corruption, despite the boasted system of examinations, is absolutely universal from Li Hung Chang, the highest, down to the very lowest. The most significant fact in this connection is that the government cannot trust the collection of the customs to its own people, but puts it entirely in the hands of foreigners. It pays better to give them enormous salaries than to employ Chinese.

This same propensity to "squeeze" runs through private life, and every man with whom you have any dealings may be depended on to steal his percentage from you, whether in building, trading, or religious services, — whether compradore of a firm, helper in a mission, or gatekeeper and coolie. It is justified as a custom, expected as a right.

The Chinese are a commercial people, and a sordid people. Like most heathen, they have little or no idea of truth in itself considered, and, like most, also, the less religion the more superstition. The Agnosticism of Confucius seems to have left the supernatural world blank, only to be peopled with the most grotesque creatures of their fancies and their fears, which they first create, then alternately serve and cajole. So far as I can ascertain, the main purpose which, in the common mind, their many pagodas accomplish, is the regulation of the geomantic influences so as to make favorable the movements of the spirits of the air.

In Peking, and elsewhere, you will frequently see boys wearing a single ear-ring. Parents who have lost one boy and find another sickly think they can cheat the spirits into the belief that this

boy is a girl, and therefore of no consequence, by the disguise of an ear-ring. Hardly a day passes, even for long residents, without the discovery of some new superstition or deceit. Said one summing up his experience of many years, "The heart of a Chinaman is an abyss."

The pride of these people is such that until it is broken or melted they will not learn from others. They have never failed to occupy the lofty position of teachers to all with whom they had any real and abiding contact. They continue to regard us as barbarians who happen to be gifted with a great mechanical knack, but are vulgar and illiterate upstarts, doomed to a speedy extinction. They are the people, and theirs is the Middle Kingdom. Of course there are a few, that have come in contact with the Western world, who are undeceived in these matters. But even these hardly dare avow their convictions. All this tends to show how exceedingly difficult is the entrance of the gospel into China. To evangelize this vast country is the work of centuries rather than years.

If I were to sum up the result of my own observations, and of the testimony collected from others, it would be something like this: The great excellences of the people are their stability, energy, imitateness, adaptiveness, industry, economy, endurance, and general sobriety. In the industrial and commercial virtues they stand high. They possess the business instinct, and in this and their colonizing habits are well called the Anglo-Saxons of the East. Their code of business honor is, in some respects, high, and, whether from conscience or policy, their engagements are frequently more trustworthy than those of Europeans. The relations of the sexes, too, are generally correct; indeed, in this respect Chinese women probably stand higher than any other women of the East.

The more I learn of their history the more am I filled with admiration at its continuity and importance, and at the predominance of the Chinese, who have given the law to the surrounding nations, and stamped the impress of their peculiar civilization on the whole of Eastern Asia. I am also filled with admiration and astonishment in learning the extent and resources of their country, in many parts far more varied, picturesque, and grand than I had ever dreamed. Their society is more highly organized, and their civilization more complex than is generally supposed.

The filial tie is the great bond of their history and society, and the secret of their conservatism, which knows no higher ideal than

always to tread in the steps of the fathers. To-day they are restlessly and resistlessly pushing their way through the West, proving themselves the best laborers and business-men that can be found, and making themselves indispensable to the colonizing powers of the West in their occupancy of tropical regions like Malasia, for which they can furnish the brawn, while the Chinese furnish the brawn, with much of the brain as well. In saying all this I by no means exhaust the good which might be told of this strange people, so far removed from our own customs, and differing so widely among themselves that hardly any general statement can be made about them which will not provoke a denial from some quarter.

There are not a few dark spots to be drawn in this picture : —

1st. An excessive national pride blinds them to their own defects, and to the lessons they should learn from other nations. Always accustomed to be the ruler and teacher, they know not how to take the attitude of pupils ; yet without such docility their decline cannot be far off. They must either appropriate the fruits of Western civilization or perish as an empire.

2d. Closely connected with this is their exaggerated conservatism and idolatry of the past. It seems probable that the acme of Chinese civilization came at or before the time of Confucius. That day can never return. Only a forward-looking and onward-moving people can fulfill its destiny. The filial tie has two sides and should have a double movement. On the one hand is the movement of the children toward the parents. On the other is that of the parents toward the children, progressing through them upward to ever nobler ideals, and gaining in them ever more precious treasures of mind and heart. This latter the Chinese have yet to learn. They are petrified in the past.

3d. A standard of culture among the learned which is both narrow and barren. It is much as if we were to confine our study to Plato, Aristotle, and other Greek philosophers. Their classics have an intermingling of noble morality and sage politics with an immense amount of rubbish. Any one can see this who reads Dr. Legge's just completed translation. Thus to limit their studies, to have their great examinations consist simply of dissertations on the teachings of Confucius, building up the whole of their life from these few volumes, with no science, no art, little history, and no living religion, — this, of itself, is enough to account for the sterility of the Chinese mind, and must make them impotent to play their part in the great world.

4th. Equally fatal to their own progress as a people is the ab-

solutely universal corruption of the official class. To hold office and to "squeeze" are identical. If an official does not squeeze, he cannot be squeezed, and will be flung aside as useless. This corruption is open, shameless, thousand-eyed and thousand-handed. Salaries are merely nominal; examinations are simply means to higher and greater "squeezing." Degrees and promotions are useless without this. All China is one vast sponge grasped by myriad-handed officials to squeeze from it the life-blood of the people.

The hope of the future, the hope of Christianity, lies not in those who have been corrupted by this universal greed for illegal gain, but in the comparatively sound peasantry and small country proprietors. By what means the nation can be purged from this all-pervading evil, — whether by the reforming hand of some great emperor or premier, or by the bloody hand of revolution, it is impossible to predict. But it is clear that there can be no permanent change which is not accompanied by a renovation of character and a greater love of integrity and justice than is yet to be found in China.

5th. This change cannot take place except by the cure of another evil yet more deeply rooted than official corruption, — the tyranny of that worst of despots, — a vast and varied *superstition*. Astrology and geomancy are the supreme powers in China, appealing to hopes and fears both natural and supernatural, extending their sway over both the living and the dead. So far as I can ascertain, the main or only benefit of the pagodas which stud the land is to adjust the *fungshin*, the influences of the air. Walls, rivers, mountain peaks, — all sorts of objects, natural and artificial, play a magical part in the practical life of the nation, that seems incredible to one who does not witness it. These superstitions form the tightest and strongest fetter of the people of the Celestial Empire.

6th. The position of woman is such as is common in heathenism. Purer, perhaps, than elsewhere in Asia, yet she is degraded. Infanticide is frightfully common in most regions, and the odious and cruel practice of foot-binding is prevalent among all women not liable to manual labor. Confucianism provides no remedy for all this.

Other evils naturally follow in the train of those which have been enumerated. Official corruption leads to betrayal of public trusts. Superstition breeds at once the degrading idolatry of Buddhism and Taouism on the one side, and skeptical rationalism,

ignorant and impotent, on the other. The sordid spirit of gain and habits of falsity undermine all business and social relations.

The cure for all this is a light which shall illumine these darkened minds, and a heat which shall melt these prejudices, purify the conscience, and kindle the desires and affections. The only cure is Christianity with its new life.

The medical work stands easily first in its successful appeal to the needs and sympathies of the people. Christian schools are scattered throughout the empire. Evangelists, foreign and native, are preaching in about every province. And although China has not been open to Christian labor till within half a century, many churches have been established, the beginnings made of a Christian literature, and about twenty-five thousand nominally converted.

In one sense, the results have been small. The mass of the Chinese people have not been affected, and are as far from receiving the gospel as ever. Many apparent converts are only rice-Christians, many helpers only church compradores. The ruling classes would to-day expel all foreigners if they only could and dared. In all the gospel work among this people there is very much that is perplexing and discouraging. Yet the seeds are being sown. Our reason for confidence lies not in the gains already made, but in the overcoming power of the gospel. China may be its supreme test, but it is absolutely needed, absolutely fitted for this people. What has been accomplished shows that, despite all weakness and ignorance, all mistakes and divisions, all obstacles and opposition, progress can be made. The next half century may show astonishing changes, when the faith, the zeal, the self-sacrifice of those who have labored so long in an almost desperate undertaking will reap their legitimate harvest. In all this, China must herself be the main agent. I cannot forbear quoting here the recent remarks of a veteran laborer in this field: — "China is not going to accept Christianity and European civilization as a boon from us, and thank us for it. All things considered, we have scarcely deserved this. The preachers of Christianity make some converts, and irritate the nation. The integrity of Europeans provokes a few to emulation and weakens the power of corruption in general, while every instance, in peace or war, of unfair dealing and self-seeking on our part, gives inward pleasure to the national mind, because it furnishes opportunity for the retort, 'Physician, heal thyself,' or else for the vain boast that, with all our advancement, the knowledge of the five cardinal virtues be-

longs to China alone. But the total effect of European encroachment can ultimately be nothing short of a thorough rousing up from centuries of torpor; and when China is thoroughly roused, she will have power and discernment given her to work round to the adoption of all our best ideas. Meantime, we may depend upon it, she takes the measure of us just as we take the measure of her, and it becomes us, as we prize the Christian religion above everything else, to commend it to the adoption of the Chinese, not in word only, but in deed and in truth."

It has been with the greatest satisfaction that I have found the missions increasingly earnest in their opposition to the cruel and degrading practice of foot-binding. When a girls' school is started in any community, it is difficult to get any pupils, and it seems impracticable to insist that the feet must be unbound. But gradually every such school wins its way. As scholars multiply, the simple advice against foot-binding may be easily strengthened to a prohibition. The schools at Shanghai, Ningho, Foochow, Amoy, Swatow, and other places are all taking practically the same firm stand against the evil. In some cases this produces violent opposition. Perhaps the young pupil is the first, for generations, in all her village, who has had natural feet. The whole community is excited and indignant at the breach of custom. But in time the excitement abates, a Christian husband is found for the girl, and her daughter continues as her mother has begun. Such a breach in an iron-bound custom is a great victory, and a most encouraging omen.

I will only add that to-day is the time for the formation of the infant native church which is itself to evangelize China; that there should be two thousand missionaries, instead of six hundred, engaged in this work, for which entire consecration is indispensable, but in which every order of talent can be employed. Laboring in the apostolic spirit, and with the inculcation of true Christian independence, even at the cost of some apparent delay, the middle or close of the next century ought to see a native church in China grandly militant, and a century later a church substantially triumphant. The continuity of heathen traditions once broken, and new traditions established, with filial piety directed towards Christian ancestors, — the very forces that now tell against us, will come to our reinforcement and extension.

It must be conceded that in this work there is manifested an occasional lack of wisdom which calls for just criticism. As when new-comers write home that the language can be mastered in six

months, when Dr. Legge, after thirty or forty years' study, still has his Chinese teacher. Or as when the Cambridge men, Mr. Studd and his companions, undertake to learn the language without books or study, believing that the gift of tongues will be granted to those who have sufficient faith, although after a month or two they are compelled to send for their books and learn the language in the usual way. Or as when the same men start forth on their first long tour with a literal fulfillment of Christ's instructions to those whom He sent out, they carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor change of raiment, nor bedding. But at the end of three days they find themselves used up, and are forced to return as they best can, recruit, refit, and start out again on common-sense principles. It is sad to see so much zeal and faith, without knowledge or discretion, and it brings great reproach on the cause. But this eccentricity is strictly exceptional, and usually soon cured, at least in its worst features.

No words can too highly express the devotion of the heroic band of men and women who are enlisted to prepare the way of the Lord into this citadel of heathenism. The majority break down in a few years, and are obliged to return home, to recruit or to remain. Nearly all of them seem to me to be living just on the outermost verge of their health and strength. The fancied romance of missions vanishes in the hard, wearing, daily fight with dirt and din and stench and filth, with climate and language, with ignorance and superstition, with beastliness and sordidness and falseness, with greed and pride and enmity, with discouragement, division, and sometimes opposition in their own ranks. The sanitarium and the two months' rest, the journey to Chefoo, to Japan, or Australia, in search of health, become necessary. But in all this, their much enduring patience, their lofty faith, their earnest personal love for the souls they are seeking to save, make the impression on a sympathetic observer of a heroism far grander than that which simply faces death on the battlefield and wins a speedy release.

Edward A. Lawrence.

PEKIN, CHINA.

EDITORIAL.

THE DECISION OF THE BOARD OF VISITORS.

MORE than five months after the public trial of the editors of this Review¹ had closed, a decision was announced by the Board of Visitors before whom the various charges had been argued. The result, which has been widely published in the secular and religious press, is a vote to remove Egbert C. Smyth from the Brown Professorship of Ecclesiastical History, and a vote that the charges against his associates are not sustained. The vote of removal was upon three of the fifteen specific charges presented, one pertaining to the authority of the Bible, the other two to salvation without knowledge of Christ. The remaining charges were not therefore sustained by a majority of the Board. The Secretary voted only on the case of Professor Smyth, assigning as a reason for casting no vote in the other cases, that he was not present when Professors Tucker, Churchill, Harris, and Hincks made their statements in defense. It is inferred that the President of the Board voted for acquittal in all the cases (including Professor Smyth's), the lay member for removal, and that, according to the provision of the statutes when a tie vote occurs, the question was, in the four last cases, determined by the vote of the President. The legal result is therefore a positive acquittal of four of the professors, and not absence of action on account of a tie vote. The charges cannot, then, be reopened, as definite and final action was taken. The text of the decisions may be found elsewhere in the Review, and also the complete report of the Board of Trustees.

We shall consider in this article: 1. Some characteristics of the official result. 2. Some features of the case as it is transferred from the Board of Visitors to the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth. 3. The effect of the decision upon the practical working and administration of the Seminary. 4. The apparent motive of the procedure as indicated by the prosecution and decision. 5. The value of the result in relation to the administration of trusts under the conditions of a creed.

This article, for obvious reasons, is written without consultation with Professor Smyth, and he will not know its contents until he receives a copy of the Review.

We consider, first, some of the characteristics of the official decision. One characteristic creates almost universal astonishment. It is that this legal tribunal has rendered conflicting decisions in respect to cases which were presented on precisely the same charges and the same evidence. The strange announcement is made that four professors are acquitted of

¹ The action of the Visitors by which the Trustees' election of Professor Woodruff was negatived, and which we deeply regret, does not come under discussion in the present article. Mr. Woodruff, since the decision, has been elected Professor of Greek in Bowdoin College.

serious charges and one professor is condemned under the same charges, although no difference was made, during the trial, in respect either to accusations or evidence. At the final hearing, when the Secretary was absent, it was agreed by the counsel on both sides and by the Board of Visitors that the arguments and evidence which had been presented in the case of Professor Smyth should be accepted in the remaining cases, and the President also said publicly that a stenographic report of the statements then to be made would be submitted to the Secretary, and that by agreement of all parties the hearing could proceed in his absence. Five months later, when action was to be taken, the Secretary refrained from voting on those cases, offering as a reason his absence when brief statements were made by four of the accused, which statements he had an opportunity of reading a few days after the hearing. All concerned, the accused, the complainants, legal advisers, and the other members of the Board, were perfectly satisfied to have the Secretary make up his judgment on a reading of the addresses which did not reach him through the physical organs of hearing. Similar instances of so delicate a sense of propriety as the Secretary exhibited have never come to our knowledge. We remember that the Secretary was also absent from the room more than once, and several minutes at a time, while the case of Professor Smyth was in progress. How did his scrupulous honor allow him to vote for the removal of a gentleman some portions of whose defense he did not hear with his own ears? Can it be doubted that he desired to procure the removal of Professor Smyth alone, and that he determined to single him out for condemnation, making the action more emphatic by declining to vote in the succeeding cases? The discrimination was made by means of a technicality more microscopic than judges in the secular courts are accustomed to resort to. But, at all events, the effect of the action is that a tribunal has put itself upon record as reaching conflicting decisions on cases identically the same. Such a discrimination will fail to command the respect of an intelligent public. In the general estimation, if one is removed all should be removed, and if four are acquitted all should be acquitted. And all, we emphatically declare, will stand together, in complete theological agreement and in unbroken coöperation, whatever the decision may be in the case which goes up for review and adjudication.

Another characteristic of the official result is the insufficiency of the grounds upon which the removal of Professor Smyth was voted. Not only was no evidence submitted which could prove the three charges mentioned, but ample evidence to the contrary was introduced. There was absolutely no proof of the charge that the accused professors held that the Bible is "fallible and untrustworthy, even in some of its religious teachings." On the contrary, the evidence showed that the Bible is exalted as "the only perfect rule of faith and practice." The criticisms made in the writings of the editors were only against certain inadequate theories of the inspiration of the Bible. The charge that man has no

capacity or power to repent without knowledge of God in Christ can be sustained only by separating parts of sentences from their connection. It was conclusively shown on the trial, as indicated in the earlier reply, that the passages cited can be made antagonistic to the Creed only by being first misunderstood. The charge "that there is, and will be, probation after death for all men who do not decisively reject Christ during the earthly life" was not supported in that unqualified form by any evidence or arguments. It was held only as a reasonable inference that certain classes of persons may have opportunity to know God in Christ after death. Neither was any conclusive evidence presented that such an hypothesis is excluded by the Creed. Furthermore, the official result declares that Egbert C. Smyth, *as such professor*, maintains and inculcates beliefs inconsistent with and repugnant to the Creed. But no shred of evidence was introduced to show that in his professional capacity he had so taught. He did not avail himself, on the trial, of the distinction between his teachings and his published writings, but the decision, considered as official and legal, goes beyond the evidence in affirming that, as a professor, he has taught contrary to the Creed of the Seminary.

Another characteristic of the official result, taken in connection with the official procedure, is that there has been an apparently arbitrary and excessive use of the constitutional powers of the Board. It is true that the limitations of their power are yet to be judicially determined, and we do not, therefore, argue the point here. But the vote to remove a professor, who is also President of the Faculty, without recognizing the existence of the Board of Trustees, the responsible body of administration, seems like an arbitrary and discourteous proceeding. So far as any notice or action on the part of the Visitors was concerned, the Trustees would have been in complete ignorance that a trial was in progress and a professor under examination until the official announcement of his removal was made to them. It was so evidently the intention of the founders that the two boards should act in conjunction, especially in reference to important matters affecting the institution, that it seems like an excessive use of power under some literal construction of words to vote for the removal of a professor without, at least, informing the Trustees that proceedings were pending. This arbitrary action is aggravated into a breach of courtesy when it appears that before the public trial the Trustees, although they had been ignored at every point, requested the Visitors to admit them by committee or otherwise to the hearing, but were denied so reasonable a request. The Trustees in their recent report say: "We further regret that when proceedings had been initiated before the Visitors, all efforts of this Board to secure a standing at the hearing failed. We felt that as a Board of Trustees especially charged with the administration of the Seminary, we should have been recognized as a party in a trial which involved the best interests of the institution intrusted to our care." Official Boards are usually more punctilious than individuals in expressions of regard and courtesy. In this case

the Board of Visitors, whose duties usually, and it may prove always, are merely appellate, showed less regard for the ordinary proprieties than is expected in the direct relations of individuals. We also consider it an unjustifiable use of power to withhold the decision more than five months after the trial of the case was concluded. On any supposition, the interests of all concerned required an earlier announcement. For, if appeal should be taken, it would then be known that the Seminary would go on as usual until a final result should be reached, and the evils of uncertainty would be avoided. And if a vote for removal was expected to take effect, it was eminently unfair to inform the Trustees of a vacancy so late that it would be impossible to arrange for the work of another year in the few weeks of summer vacation. Our judgment of the official action and result is, then, that the singling out of one for condemnation, while four under the same charges are exonerated, is a worse than meaningless discrimination and for an utterly inadequate reason, that the charges against Professor Smyth are not sustained by the evidence, and that the course of procedure, especially in relation to the Trustees and to the delay of the decision, has been discourteous and arbitrary.

The case now goes to another tribunal, and we inquire next concerning the larger issues involved as these legal and theological questions are submitted to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. Evidently the appeal is taken without the least moral disadvantage on the part of those who take it. An unreasonable discrimination, affecting the rights and reputation of an individual, has been made upon the basis of a trivial technicality. The powers of a corporate board of trust have been invaded and its approved agent condemned by a literal and extreme interpretation of the statutory rights of an associated and less numerous Board. Unfair discrimination and adverse decisions have thus been rendered by resort to a technicality, which, after all, may prove invalid. No objection therefore can be made against submitting these and other technical questions as well as important legal principles to the highest judicial tribunal of the Commonwealth. If the decision of the Visitors had carried any moral or theological weight, it is by no means certain that an appeal would have been taken by the professor or professors condemned. If any principle of interpretation had been laid down which would command respect, and under which all the accused professors had been voted against by all the members of the Board, there would have been little or no disposition to obtain a reversal on merely legal and technical grounds. But, as it is, the result not only carries no moral force against the professors and their opinions, but furnishes a decided moral advantage as the case goes up for adjudication. Nothing is decided theologically by the self-contradictory action of one individual; and an injustice has been attempted which gives a moral importance to the appeal above even its legal and theological character. It is also a moral advantage that twelve of the thirteen members of the Board of Trustees, after a careful examination of the charges, evidence,

and arguments, sign an exhaustive report completely vindicating the accused professors, and for reasons which are clearly stated. This result certainly has more value theologically and morally than the decision of two men who give no reasons, indicate no principle by which they are guided, and are opposed by the President of their own Board, whose opinion was absolutely necessary to give any theological value to the decision. We do not mean that because these cases have hinged on a technicality, we therefore are content to have them reversed on technicalities. There are now issues in equity to be raised and determined. There is also the grave question as to the powers and limitations of an associated board of trust. It should be settled once for all whether or not the founders intended to clothe with arbitrary and supreme powers three men who were appointed Visitors some years after the Seminary was in full operation, and so cautiously that the experiment was to be tried seven years before the Board should become permanent. And if there proves to be some doubt as to the intention of the founders, it should be determined whether or not the existence of a corporate board with such powers as have now been claimed is consonant with the genius of our institutions and laws. We mean that the case goes up to the secular court with an immense moral presumption in favor of the accused, and that, if there are legal principles which have been disregarded, or which possess a higher authority, there need be no hesitation in using them at their greatest advantage. And should an adverse decision be rendered by which the Visitors are established in the authority they claim, it certainly should be known, in order that self-respecting men may emancipate themselves from the control of so despotic a tribunal. It may be said that if all the professors had been acquitted the Visitors would have been praised without stint as righteous judges. That would depend on the reasons, if any, which might have been given. An acquittal of all without explanations would have indicated nothing more than the failure of an attack on the Seminary, and while we should have been gratified at the issue, we should not have been disposed to extol the men who had allowed so much needless annoyance. But however that might be, the four who have been fully acquitted are not at all disposed to commend judges who would condemn another no more guilty and no less guilty than themselves. And we are certain that a decision to remove all would have commanded much more respect than the inconsistent result which was at last reached and announced.

The effect on the immediate administration of the Seminary can be stated in a few words. All the professors remain, and the work of the Seminary goes on as usual next September. The four professors who are acquitted remain in undisturbed and unquestioned possession. Professor Smyth continues in his present position, as the appeal to be taken in his case will vacate the judgment under which he has been removed. No one thinks of resigning. If a decision like that against Professor Smyth had been rendered in the other cases, a decision affirming no principles of interpretation, giving no reasons, and upon the basis of

charges unsupported by the evidence, appeal would have been taken, and pending the result the Seminary would have gone on as at present. Much more, as the Secretary has saved four of the accused professors the trouble of appealing, and as, by a positive vote of the Board the charges against them are dismissed, they have every reason to remain in office, and thus, so far as in them lies, to save the Seminary to its intended uses. An acquittal from charges to which they have pleaded not guilty is not an occasion for resignation of office. The Seminary is now established in the interests of genuine theological progress, for even the Visitors have decided not to remove four out of five professors who advocate the principles of a progressive orthodoxy, and with whose views they are perfectly familiar.

We should be glad to believe that no considerations have entered into the prolonged trial of the last year, except regard for a correct theology in the teaching of Andover Seminary. But the actual result taken in connection with some incidents of the trial almost compel the conclusion that the whole movement was nothing more nor less than a personal attack on the beloved President of the Seminary. Doubtless, some who have been drawn into active opposition were influenced by the fear of opinions which they thought dangerous, and were as desirous of the condemnation of all as of one. But, nevertheless, the indications are almost unmistakable that the opposition was aimed and guided towards the very end which has been secured. It is matter of record that the most strenuous efforts were made by the counsel to prevent so much as a hearing on any cases except the first. Counsel for the complainants stated several times that they had been summoned to argue the case of Professor Smyth, and were not prepared to consider the cases of the other respondents. At that time all the accused professors and their counsel were apprehensive that only one case would be taken from the docket, and brought before the Visitors for decision. Only by persistent efforts was the opportunity gained to make the brief statements by the remaining professors which were finally introduced. As all the cases were at length submitted it was believed that the decision would necessarily be the same for all. When the result was announced, and it was found that Professor Smyth only was condemned, it was almost impossible not to associate the excuse by which that discrimination was explained with the efforts made during the trial to isolate his case from the others. The effect of such discrimination is not to disintegrate but to consolidate the accused professors and the entire Faculty. Whatever theological significance the procedure may have seemed to have, it is now apparent that its force was concentrated on one who is deserving only of support and affection. It is impossible that such attacks with such weapons should have any disastrous result except upon their contrivers and abettors.

There will be general disappointment that nothing has been gained or established relative to the administration of trusts under the conditions

of a creed. It was hoped by many that the case would become representative. In common with many incorporated institutions in this country Andover Seminary carries legal obligations under required compliance with a creed. Ministers in the Presbyterian and other churches also are under conditions substantially the same. The occasion of this trial might have been improved to lay down correct principles concerning the requirements of creeds. Something might have been established concerning the explanation of one part of a creed by another, concerning the proportion of essential and non-essential, concerning the basis of compromise as between diverging parties in the formation of a creed, concerning the strictness with which phraseology should be pressed. Practical fidelity to the great principles of a creed could have been distinguished from shrewd evasions on the one side and slavish literalism on the other. But nothing comes of this mighty contention but a decision by a vote of two men against one that a certain professor has, in their judgment, violated the requirements of creed, and four other decisions by the double value of the President's vote against the single vote of another man that other professors, charged with holding precisely the same opinions, and tried upon the same evidence, have not violated the requirements of the creed. On what principles or by what criteria these various judgments have been made there is no intimation whatever.

The decision of the Supreme Court may have a representative value. At all events, the case now goes to a body of men who can be trusted not to exceed their legitimate functions, and not to shun the use of such power as they actually possess.

A LESSON FROM TWO EFFECTIVE LIVES.

THE two eminent men who died on the same day of last month, Dr. Roswell D. Hitchcock and President Mark Hopkins, were very unlike in temperament and gifts, as indeed might be inferred from the distinction attained by each in his separate vocation. But their lives possessed one admirable feature in common (though in the nature of the case it is much more prominent in that of Dr. Hopkins), that of an unwaning efficiency. Both of them died in the harness, and neither of them had given up the extra professional labors in which both had been conspicuously influential. Dr. Hitchcock was to the last the fascinating lecturer on church history whom more than thirty classes had admired; he was the President of the Union Theological Seminary; a leader in the councils of the Presbyterian Church, and one of our most effective public speakers. President Hopkins was up to his death the peerless college instructor of his day, and the President of the American Board. As a leader in the controversy respecting the treatment of missionary candidates by the representatives of the Board, he was doing service as vigorous and, in our judgment as effective, as any that he had ever rendered to the church. The undiminishing influence of these two strong lives

comes strikingly and pathetically to view in the fact that each made just before its close a public utterance of especial power and usefulness, Dr. Hitchcock, in the address at the dedication of the Durfee High School, on June 15, and President Hopkins, in the article in the "Independent" of July 16, entitled "Councils and the Board."

It is of this their common characteristic that we wish to speak, reserving for some future day a more careful analysis of character and estimate of service than is now possible. Undiminished effectiveness in old age possessed by teachers of moral and religious truth and leaders of Christian thought is obviously due chiefly to moral causes. Every one can think of men who once did such work with much efficiency, but are now, though retaining physical and mental vigor, as incapable of it as wooden frigates are of effective fighting. Such obsolete men owe their obsolescence to moral and spiritual defects. They have become estranged from the life of their time either from lack of love or from a conservatism which obstinately clings to the formal and transitory elements of doctrine, or from inability to recognize the expression of Christian faith in new forms of thought. Their shrunken influence shows not so much decayed faculty as shriveled manhood. The best reward they can receive for their past service is the privilege of concealing themselves behind it.

Professor Hitchcock and President Hopkins kept their influence to the end, because they held the qualities which earned it. They had the love for humanity, the faith in God, and the spiritual insight which give sympathy with all that is essentially Christian, and power to enter into all thought which is pervaded by the life of Christ. Dr. Hopkins says, in one of his baccalaureate sermons, "Let me counsel you, my friends, to place a generous confidence in your fellow-men. . . . Not that you should be weak or credulous, but if you must err at all let it be on the side of confidence. . . . Far from you be that form of conceit which attributes to itself shrewdness and wisdom by always suspecting evil. Far sooner would I make it a part of my philosophy and plan to be always cheated up to a certain point. Let not even intercourse with the world, and the caution of age, congeal the spring of your confidence and sympathy."

Dr. Hitchcock said to a great representative assembly, on a memorable occasion, "God forgive me if I ever looked, or shall ever look, into any Christian face without finding in it something of the old family likeness." If men who can sincerely speak such words do not, however old, so fully belong to the life of their time as to be able to speak to its heart and its conviction, the cause must be intellectual, not moral, defect. But it must be added that the conspicuous forcefulness of the last years of these eminent men was due, in part, to intellectual gifts, joined to and supplementing their moral qualities. Dr. Hitchcock's historical insight and splendid culture helped him see the hopeful elements in present forms of Christian faith and life, even those most remote from his own sympathies, and changed the intense conservatism of his early manhood into a faith which looked for future development in theology with a confidence as firm as

that with which it clung to the sure gains of the past centuries. In saying to the Evangelical Alliance, at its meeting in New York, "The three essential and distinctive doctrines of Christianity are incarnation, atonement, and regeneration: if these are clearly affirmed, we can well afford the allowance of the largest liberty in regard to all the rest. . . . The doctrines are not yet all settled. Theology, Christology, Anthropology, Soteriology have all had their turn; but Ecclesiology and Eschatology have yet to come;" — he showed the wealth of a mind instructed into catholicity as well as the generosity of a great heart. That this liberality was due not to the decay of Christian conviction, but to the larger expectation of spiritual knowledge, in which the soul's closer approach to the Light of the world is seen, was made evident in the ever-increasing spirituality and fervor of his sermons and religious addresses. Especial mention may be made of the lofty and impassioned address on "The cost of service," delivered at the anniversary exercises of Union Seminary in 1884.

In Dr. Hopkins's striking personality, mental and moral qualities so interpenetrated each other that one is tempted to say that he kept his great influence to the last simply because he could never cease to be Mark Hopkins. He was not and did not profess to be a man of books. He was a man of the world, giving to the word "world" its highest and best sense, that of a moral realm directed and governed by a moral Being. He felt that personality was the great overshadowing fact, and lived in this forceful conviction. To him knowledge and ideas were of but secondary consideration to that which chiefly makes personality, character. Hence to him truth was chiefly interesting on its ethical side. If he had had less moral earnestness he would have been more eminent as a metaphysician. Like Socrates, whom he resembled in his method of teaching as well as in his temper and aims, he subjected thought no less than life to moral ends. Such a man could not but find men so long as he had faculties remaining with which to seek them out. He apprehended the truths of Christianity in those simple ethical aspects in which they have always made their most direct and forcible appeal to the human heart. To speak of them as he felt them, in his tones so full of human kindness, through an argument marshaled with a shrewdness debased by no touch of artifice, was to reach and convince and win. Those who have heard that voice in these last years, and have owned the power of its persuasion, its argument, and its appeal, must have felt not so much wonder that a man could be so potent at eighty-five, as gratitude that such a man should have lived in our time.

JUDGMENTS OF THE VISITORS AND OF THE TRUSTEES

IN THE CASES OF THE ACCUSED PROFESSORS.

I.

FINDINGS AND ACTION OF THE BOARD OF VISITORS ON THE AMENDED COMPLAINT AGAINST EGBERT C. SMYTH, BROWN PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, WILLIAM J. TUCKER, BARTLET PROFESSOR OF SACRED RHETORIC, JOHN W. CHURCHILL, JONES PROFESSOR OF ELOCUTION, GEORGE HARRIS, ABBOT PROFESSOR OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY, AND EDWARD Y. HINCKS, SMITH PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

Thursday, June 16, after the exercises of Anniversary Week were ended, the Reverend William T. Eustis, D.D., and Honorable Joshua N. Marshall, Visitors, met at the Mansion House in Andover. A second session was held the next morning. The President of the Board of Visitors, the Reverend and Honorable Julius H. Seelye, D.D., LL.D., was not present at either session. On the 17th of June, the two Visitors present sent, by a messenger, to the Professors concerned, the following decisions :—

At a meeting of the Visitors of the Theological Institution in Phillips Academy in Andover, held on the fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven, the complaint, as amended, against Egbert C. Smyth, D. D., Brown Professor of Ecclesiastical History in said institution, the answer thereto, the evidence laid before them, and the arguments in behalf of the complainants and respondent, were further considered by the Visitors, and they find that said Egbert C. Smyth, as such professor, maintains and inculcates beliefs inconsistent with and repugnant to the creed of said institution and the statutes of the same, and contrary to the true intent of the founders thereof as expressed in said statutes, in the following particulars, as charged in said amended complaint, to wit :

That the Bible is not "the only perfect rule of faith and practice," but is fallible and untrustworthy even in some of its religious teachings ;

That no man has power or capacity to repent without knowledge of God in Christ ;

That there is and will be probation after death for all men who do not decisively reject Christ during the earthly life.

And thereupon they do adjudge and decree that said Egbert C. Smyth be, and he hereby is, removed from the office of Brown Professor of Ecclesiastical History in said institution, and said office is hereby declared vacant.

Voted, That the Secretary notify said Egbert C. Smyth, the complainants, and the Trustees of Phillips Academy of the foregoing findings and action thereon by the Visitors.

A true copy of record.

Attest :

W. T. EUSTIS, *Secretary.*

At a meeting of the Visitors of the Theological Institution in Phillips

Academy in Andover, held on the fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven, before proceeding to consider the several complaints, as amended, against William J. Tucker, Bartlett¹ Professor of Sacred Rhetoric; John W. Churchill, Jones Professor of Elocution; George Harris, Abbot Professor of Christian Theology, and Edward Y. Hincks, Smith Professor of Biblical Theology, severally in said institution, Rev. Mr. Eustis declined to act thereon with his associates, upon the ground that he was not present on the day of the hearing on said complaints when said respondents severally appeared and made their statements in defense thereto.

Thereupon these complaints, as amended, were taken up and severally considered, and none of the charges therein contained were sustained.

Voted, That the Secretary notify these respondents of the action of the Visitors on these several complaints against them.

A true copy of record.

Attest:

W. T. EUSTIS, *Secretary.*

II.

JUDGMENT OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES ON THE CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST PROFESSORS SMYTH, TUCKER, CHURCHILL, HARRIS, AND HINCKES.

When the charges against the accused professors were made public by the press, the Trustees of the Seminary appointed a committee to report to them what action, if any, should be taken by them in the premises. The committee deemed it advisable that the Trustees should appear at the hearing before the Visitors, and take part in it. Accordingly, an informal interview was had by the committee with the Visitors, and it was understood that the latter favored their request that the Trustees should thus appear and participate. The details were left to be arranged by one of the Visitors and one of the committee. No conclusion being reached by these gentlemen, the committee renewed its request in a formal communication to the Board of Visitors. They asked permission for the Trustees to present such facts and considerations relevant to the charges against the professors as were in their power, and represented that their office gave them such knowledge of the professors, and such responsibility for their conformity to the creed and standards of the Seminary, that they felt it to be their duty thus to appear, if permitted; and that they were "confirmed in this view by the precedent in the case of Professor Murdock, in which the Trustees appeared in this manner before the Board of Visitors." The President of the Board of Visitors, Rev. Dr. Seelye, returned an encouraging reply. Subsequently, the request having been laid before the Visitors, it was voted by this body "that, while the Visitors will welcome the presence of the Trustees at the hearing, it seems to them that the object contemplated by the Trustees can be best accomplished by their presenting the considerations to which they refer to the counsel of the respective parties." Inasmuch as the Trustees held no relation to the said counsel, this was a plain refusal of the Trustees' request.

¹ Bartlet is the correct spelling of this founder's name.

After the trial of the professors before the Visitors was concluded, full stenographic reports were published of the testimony and arguments which had been presented. The Trustees accordingly decided to examine individually into the charges with the help of the published evidence and arguments, and whatever additional information could be obtained. Twelve members of the Board wrote out opinions, which were placed in the hands of the committee already referred to. The thirteenth (and only other) member referred the committee to his argument before the Visitors. The twelve opinions were found to be in essential agreement, and the committee embodied them in a minute which was adopted by the Board as its judgment upon the complaint against the professors, and was signed by the Trustees whose opinions had been rendered as just stated.

The members of the Board of Trustees approving this judgment and appending their names to the same are: Rev. Daniel T. Fiske, D. D.; Edward Taylor, Esq.; Rev. C. F. P. Bancroft, Ph. D.; Thomas H. Russell, Esq.; Hon. Joseph S. Ropes; Rev. Alexander McKenzie, D. D.; Rev. William H. Willcox, D. D., LL. D.; Hon. Robert R. Bishop; President Franklin Carter, LL. D.; Alpheus H. Hardy, Esq.; Rev. James G. Vose, D. D.; and Hon. Horace Fairbanks. The only member voting in the negative was Rev. J. W. Wellman, D. D. It was also voted that the minute be entered by the clerk upon the Records of the Trustees. The following is the judgment thus adopted, signed, and ordered to be recorded:—

We cannot but regret that the charges against the professors were not prosecuted in the first instance before this board, and carried to the Visitors on appeal, if at all.

The original constitution of the seminary, dated August 31, 1807, in articles 13 and 14, provides that "no man shall be continued a professor in this institution who shall not continue to approve himself, to the satisfaction of the Trustees, a man of sound and orthodox principles in divinity," according to the standards established in said constitution; and that, "if at any meeting regularly appointed it should be proved to the satisfaction of a majority of the whole number of the said Trustees that any professor in this institution has taught or embraced any of the heresies or errors alluded to in the declaration aforesaid, . . . he shall be forthwith removed from office;" and that "every professor in this institution shall be under the immediate inspection of the said Trustees, and shall be by them removed" for neglect of duty, immorality, incapacity, "or any other just and sufficient cause." The associate statutes of March 21, 1808, and additional statutes of May 3, 1808, establish a Board of Visitors, whose duties in this respect are to "hear appeals from the Board of Trustees," to "review and reverse any censure passed by said Trustees upon any professor," and to "take care that the duties of every professor on this foundation be intelligently and faithfully discharged, and to admonish or remove him, either for misbehavior, heterodoxy, incapacity, or neglect of the duties of his office." It is clear that the duties imposed upon the Board of Visitors by the later statutes have in no respect superseded those imposed upon the Trustees by the earlier; and that the purpose, intent, and scope of the

later provisions was to establish a second board, whose duties should be supervisory and appellate, and whose action should be a check and corrective upon the action of the Board of Trustees, in the interest of safety and caution. The establishment of this board was a safeguard, not a substitution. Without discussing, or desiring to discuss, the legal question whether it is competent for the Board of Visitors to take original jurisdiction of the subject of removing a professor, it may be said that every consideration of purpose in the statutes and of propriety in their administration is against such action on the part of the Visitors. For that board to exercise jurisdiction of this subject in instances in which the question has not been passed upon by the Trustees is to transfer the power of removal, not *pro tanto*, but altogether, from the Trustees to the Visitors; it is to change provisions contemplating the examination of grave and delicate questions by two boards, the higher having a corrective upon the lower, into a method for their examination effectively by only one board, and that the smaller in point of numbers.

We regret all the more that this case was first prosecuted before the Visitors, because the matter had previously been brought to the attention of this board in a memorial presented by one of the Trustees January 12, 1886, referring to public reports and charges against the professors, and praying that the Board of Trustees would request the Board of Visitors to investigate the same. This the Board of Trustees declined to do, on the ground that, if sufficient cause to consider them existed, it was the duty of this board to investigate the charges before they should go to the Board of Visitors, and expressing to the member presenting the memorial its readiness to take up and consider such charges as he or any other responsible person or persons might make; and the board subsequently requested him to file specifications of such charges as he desired to present.

We further regret that, when proceedings had been initiated before the Visitors, all effort of this board to secure a standing at the hearing failed. We felt that, as a Board of Trustees especially charged with the administration of the seminary, we should have been recognized as a party in a trial which involved the best interests of the institution intrusted to our care.

Nor are the Trustees prepared to admit that Professor Churchill is amenable to the jurisdiction of the Visitors, the constitution having provided that every founder of a professorship shall have the exclusive right of prescribing the regulations and statutes concerning the same, and the founder of the Jones professorship having placed said professorship under the sole charge of the Board of Trustees.

But, although the Trustee who had brought the matter before this board declined to proceed with it, and, in connection with others, instituted proceedings before the Board of Visitors, and although we were refused a standing at the hearing before the Visitors, we still considered that we were not relieved from the obligation laid upon us by the constitution, and that it was our duty to pass upon the charges made against the professors. Such action, while out of its proper order and without the effect which every judgment of a subordinate tribunal is entitled to have upon subsequent proceedings, is at least the discharge of the moral duty of the Board of Trustees.

Accordingly, we have carefully weighed the evidence both of the complainants and the respondents presented at the trial, and have sought light from all other accessible sources; and our judgment is that the charges brought against the professors are not sustained. In our opinion, the teachings of the profes-

sors accused are either not correctly represented, or, when correctly represented, are not inconsistent with the Creed which the professors have signed and are bound to sustain in all their utterances.

The question at issue is not whether the views and teachings of the professors are contrary to the great historic creeds of the church, nor whether they are contrary to the creeds of the churches in Eastern Massachusetts when the seminary was established, nor whether they are contrary to any of the known views of the founders, but whether they are contrary to the views which the founders embodied in the Creed that they prescribed as the test of the doctrinal soundness of all who should occupy chairs of instruction in the seminary.

We cannot read into this Creed anything not plainly there ; nor can we read out of it anything that is plainly there. The Creed, just as it stands, is the test.

It was claimed by the complainants that the Creed must be interpreted strictly according to the known views of the founders, whether those views lie in the very language of the Creed or not. This is manifestly wrong. The fundamental rule of construction of instruments forbids it. They must speak for themselves. This principle was clearly stated, and acted upon, in the case of this very Creed, where opinions coming much closer home to this seminary than any that have been adduced here were sought to be introduced to interpret it, and were rejected. This was in 1844 ; and, when it is said that the persons whose opinions were rejected were, among others, Samuel Farrar, who had more to do with drafting the statutes and was more familiar with them than perhaps any other person, and Leonard Woods, the first Abbot professor, it will be seen that no evidence could be more important or more admissible to put a construction upon the Creed, if any evidence of this character is admissible to do it. Esquire Farrar says, in his paper on the subject, "I wrote the additional statutes and know the thought that was in my mind when I penned that word." The Visitors at that time were Rev. Heman Humphrey, D. D., Rev. John Codman, D. D., and Hon. Seth Terry. They rejected the evidence, and refused to allow it to have any effect upon the construction of the Creed, using the following language : —

"The remonstrants rely much and insist strongly upon the contemporaneous opinions entertained by distinguished benefactors and friends of the institution, as expressed and settled in consultations held regarding its adoption and the construction of its laws. Long-established rules, settled on conclusive reasons, are opposed to the intervention of such opinions in this case. The Creed is written ; and it is presumed that its makers had the benefit of their opinions in framing it, and that it contains their will — the maxim *Ita lex scripta* applies. Our duty is to expound it as written ; and it may be added that seldom has a code been drawn up with more clearness and ability, nor better adapted to the difficult work of guarding a theological institution against the subtleties of schoolmen."

The principle upon which such evidence cannot be admitted is clear and most satisfactory. In an instrument written with care, thought, and precision, it is inconceivable that the authors should omit what they deemed it important to insert.

This Creed is to be interpreted according to the ordinary rules of creed interpretation, and according to liberal usage, which began during the lifetime of the founders — presumably with their approval — and has continued through the entire history of the seminary. Only by great liberty of interpretation

could all the founders have signed their own Creed ; for they differed widely in regard to some of the most important doctrines expressed in the Creed. And only by great liberty of interpretation could all the former professors have retained their chairs, for they differed widely in their views touching several of the fundamental doctrines represented in the Creed. It has been quite common for professors, on subscribing the Creed, to accompany their subscription with some explanatory statement indicating that they accepted it as substantially expressing the teachings of the Scriptures. The Trustees and Visitors alike have allowed this liberty of interpretation in the past.

Indeed, in no other way could the seminary have been administered so as to have carried out the great intent of the founders. We can see no reason why the same liberty of interpretation should be denied to the present accused professors which was granted to their predecessors, more than one of whom were in their day charged with infidelity to the Creed.

And now, in justification of our judgment rendered above, we will consider the specific charges brought against the professors.

The whole number is fifteen, but evidently the complainants laid emphasis only on three or four. The others may be dismissed as unimportant.

First charge: The professors are charged with holding and teaching "that the Bible is not the only perfect rule of faith and practice, but is fallible and untrustworthy, even in some of its religious teachings."

The exact language of the Creed is: "I believe that the word of God contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament is the only perfect rule of faith and practice."

The Creed says nothing about the way or method in which the Bible became a perfect rule of faith and practice ; that is, it prescribes no theory of inspiration.

The complainants infer that the professors do not believe in the inspiration of the Scriptures, because they do not adopt a certain theory of inspiration in regard to which the Creed is silent. They certainly do not deny inspiration when they affirm that the "inspired life" of the writers is the "seat" or "medium of revelation," especially as they admit that these writers of the Bible "were sometimes evidently conscious of receiving special messages from God." ("Progressive Orthodoxy," page 221.)

But there is nothing whatever in the Creed that requires any man accepting it to differentiate the action of the Holy Spirit in guiding and inspiring the composition of the sacred books from the action of the same Spirit in guiding and quickening to holiness of life, and this embodies all the charge upon this subject that can be brought against these professors.

They declare that in the very articles from which the citations in support of this charge were made, the writers assume "that we have in the Bible a trustworthy and authoritative expression of the mind and will of God." ("The Andover Defence," page 107.)

Moreover, in his address before the National Council at Chicago last October Professor Smyth said: "I know of no professor at Andover who has ever thought of questioning the supreme authority of the Scriptures as the record of special divine revelation and the only perfect rule of faith and practice." ("Boston Journal," October 19, 1886.)

And Professor Hincks says, "I close by declaring my full and hearty belief 'that the word of God contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament is the only perfect rule of faith and practice,' and by denying that I have

in my lecture-room or out of it made statements inconsistent with this belief." ("The Andover Defence," page 306.)

Without indorsing all the views which the professors have expressed in regard to the Scriptures, we see no reason to doubt the sincerity or truthfulness of the foregoing declarations.

Third charge : The professors are charged with holding and teaching "that no man has power or capacity to repent without knowledge of God in Christ."

And yet in the very citations made to sustain this charge occur such statements as these : "The power of repentance remains, and to this power the gospel addresses itself." "It is to this power that Christ, the holy and merciful, attaches himself." ("Progressive Orthodoxy," page 54.)

They further say : "Man's natural powers of moral agency are not denied, but asserted. It is everywhere assumed that men are responsible for their sins." ("The Andover Defence," page 116.)

The Creed itself, while affirming that "man has understanding and corporeal strength to do all that God requires of him, so that nothing but the sinner's aversion to holiness prevents his salvation," teaches that man is "morally incapable of recovering the image of the Creator."

It is not clear that the professors hold to any other inability than this "moral incapability which consists in aversion to holiness." They may not have emphasized sufficiently the sinner's natural ability, and their language on this subject may not always be most felicitous nor self-consistent. But in these respects we do not think they have sinned more than did the first Abbot professor ; and, if his language was not inconsistent with the Creed, neither is theirs. (See "Works of Dr. Woods," vol. iii., pages 173-200.)

The professors hold and inculcate with great emphasis the necessity and efficiency of the Holy Spirit in the work of regeneration ; and while they seldom use the familiar terms "natural ability," "natural inability," "moral ability," "moral inability," they exalt the *grace* of God in making salvation possible for men otherwise hopelessly lost.

Sixth charge : The professors are charged with holding and teaching "that the atonement of Christ consists essentially and chiefly in his becoming identified with the human race through his incarnation, in order that by his union with men He might endow them with the power to repent, and thus impart to them an augmented value in the view of God, and so render God propitious towards them."

The language of the Creed on this subject is : "I believe that Christ, as redeemer, executed the office of a prophet, priest, and King ; that agreeably to the covenant of redemption the Son of God, and He alone, by his sufferings and death has made atonement for the sins of all men."

The fact of atonement and its universality are here affirmed ; but no one of the various theories that have been held in the church as to the nature and necessity of the atonement is enjoined to the exclusion of all others. There is reason to believe that the founders differed greatly in their theories of the atonement. This certainly has been the case with the men who have occupied chairs of instruction in the seminary ; for example, the theory held and advocated by Professor Shedd is radically different from that held and advocated by Professor Park. (Cf. "Bibliotheca Sacra," vol. xvi., page 723 ; "Atonement," Discourses and Treatises, Introd. Essay.)

We see no good reasons why the views of the professors on this subject may not come within the scope of the Creed as well as the differing views of Anselm

and of Grotius, especially when those who hold them can use such language as the following : " I consider it fundamental in the truth of redemption through Christ that Christ suffered in our stead, or that his work was vicarious, that his sufferings had relation and influence towards God as well as towards man ; that the ultimate ground of redemption is the satisfaction of the God of holy love, procured by the sufferings of Christ ; and that all other effects upon man rest back upon and assume that satisfaction as having been made, or, in other words, assume a changed relation of God towards sinners produced by the sufferings and death of his only begotten Son." (Professor Harris's Address before the Congregational Club of Boston, May 26, 1884, " Boston Journal," May 21.)

Eleventh charge : The professors are charged with holding and teaching " that there is, and will be, probation after death for all men who do not decisively reject Christ during the earthly life ; and that this should be emphasized, made influential, and even central in systematic theology."

The latter part of this charge is without a shadow of support. The professors, so far from claiming that their view on this subject should be " emphasized and made central in systematic theology," declare that it is to be looked upon as " an appended inquiry rather than as an essential question for theology." (" Progressive Orthodoxy," page 77.) And they further say : " In the strictest sense, we do not treat it as a doctrine at all, but only as an inference from a doctrine or fundamental principle." (" Andover Defence," page 130.)

They frankly admit that they hold, as a reasonable inference from accepted truths, that any persons who have no Christian probation in this life may have such a probation after death.

The view which they emphasize is that there is salvation only through faith in Christ, in opposition to the Unitarian view of salvation by works, or by " living up to the light of nature."

Their views on this subject seem to us permissible under the Creed of the seminary. The Creed contains no explicit declaration concerning the condition of the wicked during the period between death and the final judgment. The Creed, in highly figurative Scriptural language, declares that " the wicked will awake to shame and everlasting contempt, and with devils be plunged into the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone forever and ever." It is a significant fact that, while the authors of this Creed did say that " believers " at death do " immediately pass into glory," they were led — may we not say providentially led — not to say that the wicked do immediately " awake to shame." If it could be proved that they did believe that the wicked do immediately at death enter into a state of hopeless retribution, then would the fact that they did not express this belief in the Creed be all the more significant.

If it were allowable to go behind the language of the Creed, and inquire what views the founders held on this subject, following a line of historical argument similar to that adopted by Dr. Dexter in support of this charge, it could be easily shown that the founders believed that no man can be saved without faith in Christ in this life ; and, therefore, that the heathen *en masse*, and, without exception, perish. This was unquestionably the prevalent view at that time. Thus, in answer to the sixtieth question of the larger Catechism — " Can they who have never heard of the gospel, and know not of Jesus Christ, nor believe in Him, be saved by their living according to the light of nature ? " — it is said, " They who, having never heard the gospel, know not Jesus Christ, cannot be saved, be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature or the laws of that religion which they profess ; neither

is there salvation in any other, but in Christ alone, who is the Saviour only of his body, the church." The Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church (chap. x., sect. 4) uses similar language, and declares that the salvation of conscientious heathen with only the light of nature is "much less" possible than is the salvation of those who hear the gospel and reject it, and further declares that "to assert and maintain the contrary is very pernicious and to be detested." With this the Saybrook Platform (chap. x., art. 4) agrees. And this was doubtless the current belief at the opening of the present century; that none were, or could be, saved without a knowledge of Christ and personal faith in Him in this life. Even Dr. Emmons, who stood in such close relations to some of the founders, held this view of the impossibility of the salvation of any of the heathen without the gospel. ("Works," vol. 6, Ser. 22.) From this view, presumably held by some of the founders, there have been two important departures since the seminary was founded, both of them outgrowths of one and the same doctrine, namely, the universality of the atonement. One class of theologians hold that, since Christ died for all, the salvation of all is made possible; and that all who penitently turn to God, whether in Christian or heathen lands, will actually be saved by Christ, even though ignorant of Him. Another class of theologians hold that, since Christ died for all men, all men before the final judgment will have opportunity to accept or reject Him as their Saviour, and those who do not have such opportunity in this life will have it after death.

Both classes agree (1) that all men are hopelessly lost without Christ; and (2) that none can be saved except by Christ, and on the ground of the atonement; and (3) that some will be saved who do not hear of Christ in this life. They disagree as to the possibility of salvation without faith in Christ, and this of necessity leads to disagreement as to the possibility of probation and salvation after death for those who do not know of Christ before death. Now, the Creed neither expressly affirms nor denies the possibility of salvation without faith in Christ; and it neither affirms nor denies the possibility of probation and of salvation for any who die without a knowledge of Christ. But it is almost certain that the founders did not believe in either possibility. If, therefore, men holding to the one possibility can rightfully occupy chairs of instruction in the seminary, why may not those holding to the other possibility? If it is not contrary to the Creed, though contrary to the views of the founders, to encourage the hope that some of the heathen will be saved who have no opportunity to believe in Christ in this life, why should it be deemed contrary to the Creed, though contrary to the views of the founders, to encourage the hope that some of the heathen will be saved by having an opportunity to believe in Christ after death? The views of the professors on this subject, whether correct or not, do not seem to antagonize any of the doctrines of the Creed, nor lend any countenance to any of the errors and heresies condemned by the Creed.

In our judgment, the whole aim of the professors has been to enlarge and deepen the apprehension of Christian truth in its applications to the problems of faith and the work of the church in the world, and they have done this along the lines of the symbols of the seminary. And we think that they deserve for their industry, their zeal, their scholarship, and their piety, not the disfranchisement and suspicion of the friends of the seminary and of sacred learning, but encouragement and sympathy.

In conclusion, we cannot refrain from expressing our deep conviction that no

greater mistake can be made in endeavoring to promote the growth of Christ's kingdom than that of insisting that such differences on points in eschatology, as exist between the accusers and the accused in this case, should be made the occasion of accusations so grave and a trial so momentous as that which these distinguished and high-minded professors have been called upon to face.

D. T. FISKE.

EDWARD TAYLOR.

C. F. P. BANCROFT.

THOMAS H. RUSSELL.

J. S. ROPES.

ALEXANDER MCKENZIE.

WM. H. WILLCOX.

ROBERT R. BISHOP.

FRANKLIN CARTER.

ALPHEUS H. HARDY.

JAMES G. VOSE.

HORACE FAIRBANKS.

THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

CURRENT GERMAN THOUGHT.

IN my last paper (May) I endeavored to characterize very briefly the general position of the school of Ritschl. It may not be uninteresting in the same connection to cast a glance at the two parties which condition and limit the influence of that school upon either side. The first of them is the so-called Confessional school, represented chiefly by the universities of Leipzig, Erlangen, Greifswald, and Rostock, and under the leadership of Professor Luthardt, of Leipzig, a man of immense personal power, whose influence in the orthodox Lutheran Church is undoubtedly greater than that of any other living man. The party is called "Confessional," and yet there is in Germany no truly Confessional school in the sense in which the Missouri Synod, for instance, deserves that name. The latter is continually pointing out to the mother church its deviation from the old positions and endeavoring to set it a pattern of close conformity to the established standards. But the school of which I speak claims to stand upon the old Confessions, and does so more nearly than any other part of the German Church, thus representing the strictest orthodoxy to be found in Germany. They hold, for instance, the majority of them, in distinction from all other German schools, a very rigid doctrine of plenary inspiration, by no means confining it to the so-called essential parts of Scripture. But at the same time they of course no longer pretend to accept the old mechanical theory which found such vigorous defenders among the post-Reformation divines. And yet, although in this and in some other respects they have outgrown their fathers, the essential principle which distinguishes them from the followers of Ritschl is, that they in reality take as their basis the dogmatists of the seventeenth century, while Ritschl goes back to the Reformation itself, to the underlying principle of Protestantism (not its doctrines — here is the vital distinction) as championed by Luther. The Confessional school of the present is distinguished from the orthodox Church of the seventeenth century, not simply by an alteration in a few of its doctrinal positions, but, in general, by the addition of an eighteenth-century pietism, which makes it at the same time deeper and narrower. I do not mean, of course, to imply that every representative of conservative German Lutheranism can be characterized in this way. I simply state the general position,

or better, tendency, of the school. The two great lights of this branch of the Church to whom it still looks back for its guidance and its inspiration were Hengstenberg, of Berlin, and Hoffmann, of Erlangen, and it is their spirit which still lives in the orthodox universities. The school is, of course, looked upon by the most conservative people as the bulwark of German Protestantism, but it must be remembered that it is rather the bulwark of the scholastic orthodoxy of the seventeenth century than of the true Protestantism of Luther and the Reformation. The school is strong in numbers — over 1,500 theological students are in attendance upon its four chief universities — and it can thus hardly be said that German orthodoxy is losing ground, at least from a numerical point of view. Its principal organs are the "*Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben*" (monthly), the theological journal of the school; the "*Theologisches Literaturblatt*" (weekly), devoted entirely to the review of current theological literature; and the "*Allgemeine Evangelische Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*" (weekly), a general religious paper. All of these enjoy a wide circulation, and are all published at Leipzig under the editorship of Professor Luthardt himself. The influence which he exerts by means of them may be imagined. Hengstenberg's "*Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*," now edited by Zöckler, of Greifswald, also represents this school, but does not at present enjoy a very wide circulation.

At the other angle of the triangle, as different from the orthodox party in its relations to Christianity and the Bible as could well be imagined, and yet one with it in opposition to Ritschlianism, stands the old Tübingen school, — in so far as it can be said still to exist in Germany, — at any rate the natural offspring of that school, which has been growing more and more toward a philosophical rationalism (I simply indicate its tendency) and at the same time becoming beautifully less in numbers. It is too negative to live in the face of such a free and at the same time aggressive movement as that of Ritschl on the one side, and such a conservative force as the Confessional school on the other. The former attracts most of the liberally inclined among the younger theologians, the latter absorbs the conservatives. For the Tübingen school few are left. The philosophy of the last-named school is, as is well known, Hegelian, and thus directly opposed to the *Neu-Kantianismus* of the *Ritschlianer*. Its position toward the Bible and toward revelation in general is extremely negative. Lipsius, of Jena, and Pfeiderer, of Berlin, are, since the death of Biedermann, of Switzerland, in 1885, the chief representatives of the school. Its strongholds are the universities of Jena and Heidelberg, with a total theological attendance of something over two hundred. The positions of the various members of the party are by no means identical with those of Baur; one has veered off in one direction, another in another (Lipsius is, perhaps, farthest from the old master), but the school is the lineal descendant of the old school, and the spirit of the latter still lives in it. It is noticeable that its chief lights are theologians rather than historians; upon the latter the influence of Ritschl's principles has been especially great. Its principal organs are the "*Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*," a very able theological review, published quarterly in Leipzig, with Lipsius as editor-in-chief, and the "*Protestantische Kirchenzeitung*," published weekly by Reimer, of Berlin. The "*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*," published quarterly at Leipzig,

under the editorship of Hilgenfeld, of Jena, though often spoken of as an organ of this school, occupies more of an independent position. I may add, what I omitted to state in my last letter, that the principal organs of the *Ritschlianer* are Harnack and Schürer's "Theologische Literaturzeitung" (published bi-weekly in Leipzig), which is devoted to book reviews and widely known for its very complete theological bibliography, and the "Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gemeindeblatt" (published in Leipzig under the editorship of Dr. Rade, a former pupil of Harnack's), a newly established weekly, which promises to be one of the very best of Germany's religious papers. Ritschlianism is strongest in the universities of Western Germany, especially Göttingen, Marburg, and Giessen, but it has individual representatives in almost every theological faculty. A characteristic difference between Ritschl and the Confessional school on the one side and the Tübingen school on the other may be seen in his treatment of the Bible. He rejects every attempt to deduce from any scholastic theory of inspiration its teaching power, but at the same time he accepts the New Testament as a norm, because it shows us what the followers of Christ believed before Christianity became corrupted and filled with the foreign ideas of philosophy. His treatment of the Bible is thus by no means negative. He endeavors to draw from it, and it alone, his whole system of theology.

In addition to these three more clearly marked schools is a fourth of extremely indefinite outlines, which is known as the *Mittel-Partei*, and is made up of the so-called *Vermittelungs-Theologen*. They occupy a mediating position between the extreme liberals on the one hand and the extreme conservatives on the other, but are ordinarily looked upon as orthodox theologians. They do not, as a party, enter into the Ritschlianistic strife, and are to be identified neither with the *Ritschlianer* nor with their opponents. They are the continuators of the theology of Tholuck, Twisten, Dorner, etc., are thoroughly evangelical, but free and scientific in their methods. A great many of them are avowedly devoted to a union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Germany, which of itself indicates their position in regard to the distinctively Lutheran doctrines. Their stronghold is the university of Halle, which ranks next to Berlin and Leipzig in the number of its theological students. Their most pronounced organs, the "Deutsch-Evangelische Blätter" (monthly), edited by Professor Beyschlag, of Halle, and the old "Theologische Studien und Kritiken," edited by Professors Koestlin and Riehm, of Halle, and published quarterly by Perthes, of Gotha, are in their hands.

MARBURG, PRUSSIA.

Arthur C. McGiffert.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

PITHOM — HEROÖPOLIS — SUCCOTH.

UP to within about three years and a half very little was known about this Egyptian city. A name had been found on some of the monuments and papyri which had been read Pa-tum or Pi-tum, and which was phonetically the equivalent of the Hebrew Pithom. These sources made it apparent that the place was in the eastern delta of the Nile, but the

exact location in that vast and barren wilderness of to-day, and exactly where to look for the buried remains, could not be determined. The earliest mention of the name in extra-Egyptian writings was in the Hebrew Scriptures, at Ex. i. 11, where it was mentioned as one of the "store-cities" built by the Israelites for Pharaoh (Ramses II.). But here no hint as to locality was given. The LXX, in translating this passage, diverges from the Hebrew and reads, "And they (Israelites) built fenced cities for Pharaoh; Pithom (Πιθω), and Raamses, and On, which is Heliopolis." Here, too, was no indication of its whereabouts. The Coptic version follows the LXX closely at most points, being a translation of that version, and not of the Hebrew. The Coptic lexicon of Amedeus Peyron, in explaining the word, gives Πιθωμ or Πιθωμ, "Urbs inferioris Aegypti prope Heroopolim a Judaeis in Aegypto captivis aedificata" (Lexicon linguae copticae. Studiis Amedei Peyron. Taurini, 1835).

The LXX, at Gen. xlv. 28, has a peculiar reading, differing from the Hebrew. The Revised Version reads, "And he (Jacob) sent Judah before him unto Joseph to show the way before him unto Goshen." . . . The Septuagint renders the words in italics "at Heroöpolis, in the land of Ramesse" (ἡρώων πόλιν, ἐς γῆν Ῥαμεσσῆ). But here the Coptic has still a different reading, and gives "Pithom" (Πιθωμ) as an emendation, which apparently was such as to make the identification of the place easier for its Egyptian readers. From this peculiar state of affairs it is easy to conjecture that if the same place was meant by both sets of translators, the city was called by both names, one being the Egyptian or Coptic designation, and the other that familiar to the Greeks. As we shall see later, such was in fact the case.

The historian Herodotus mentions a city, Πάτουμος, in speaking of a canal projected by Nekos (Necho, 610-594 B. C.) and finished by Darius, which derives its water from the Nile, "a little above the city of Bubastis, near Patumos the Arabian town; it runs into the Red Sea." Here, then, is a hint as to the site. On the strength of this, Professor Ebers conjectured, in the first edition of his "Durch Gosen zum Sinai," that the location was at Tell-el-Suleiman; but in the second, on the evidence of a papyrus (Anastasi vi. 4), he had felt himself compelled to give up this view in the face of a passage which reads thus: . . . "The pools at Pithom, of King Menephtah, which is Theku (Succoth)," in connection with an allusion in the great geographical text at Dendera, which speaks of "Pithom at the entrance of the East." But the difficulty in this reading of Herodotus has been explained and avoided by Mons. Naville ("Pithom," etc., p. 29-30) by a change of punctuation, which places Pithom at the east instead of the west end of the canal. In the translation given above the semicolon is put after the word "town." Now, change it to follow the word "Bubastis," and we are freed from difficulty, and (provided Tell-el-Suleiman is held to be Patoumos) the "Father of History" is relieved of another of those accusations of error which some are fond of laying to his charge, for this Tell is *not above* Bubastis, but some distance *below* it. With the changed reading we find that the canal "runs into the Red Sea near Patoumos," a statement according with the truth. Ebers, not having thus altered the reading of Herodotus, having rather given up hope of reconciling his narrative with the statement of monument and papyrus, placed Pithom on the southwestern bank of Lake Balah or Lake Menzale.

Little if anything was known farther about this city, except that it was in a district called *Theku*, which Brugsch had regarded as the equivalent of the Hebrew Succoth, and the determinatives used in the hieroglyphic writing had shown that it was peopled — largely, at least — by a race different from the Egyptian. In the Papyrus Anastasi the sign used was compounded of two “determinatives,” namely, “foreign people” and “border land.”

In this state things stood when Mons. Naville, as agent and excavator for the Egypt Exploration Fund, went to Egypt, in 1883, having set out with the expectation of investigating the site of Tanis-Zoan. But before he was prepared to begin to dig the season was quite advanced, and the time left did not warrant work there. He turned his attention to a mound called Tell-el-Maskhutah, on the south side of the modern sweet-water canal, which runs from the Nile through Wadi Tumilat, parallel with the ancient water-way. The site had been described by a French engineer, Le Père, toward the end of the last century, as containing ruins which “bore all the characteristics of an Egyptian city,” and “all such remains as mark the sites of destroyed cities in Lower Egypt.” The name of the Tell, “mound of the Statue,” was derived from a large granite statue which represented Ramses II. seated between the two sun-gods, Ra and Tum. This, together with some other monuments, had been removed to Ismailia, whither Mons. Naville went to examine them. From the fact that a large statue of Ramses had been found on the site, it had been concluded by Lepsius that it marked the spot where Raameses, one of the “store-cities,” stood. An examination of them, however, led to a different conclusion. It seemed that the place was dedicated to the god Tum, and hence the inference was drawn that when uncovered there would be found Pi-tum, “the Abode of Tum,” Pithom, and *not* Raameses. Having been thus prepared for results to be found, excavation began. A considerable number of monuments were found of various ages. The oldest was by Ramses II., and the latest hieroglyphic inscription by Ptolemy (II.) Philadelphus, thus covering the ground from about 1500 to 250 B. C. Besides these a Greek and two Latin inscriptions were found, which extended the period later, to 306 or 307 A. D. The fact that nothing earlier than Ramses II. was found pointed clearly to the fact that he was the builder of the city, and in connection with other facts, soon to be stated, especially the fact that here was the Pithom of Ex. i. 11, it was placed beyond question that in this king we see the Pharaoh of the oppression, unnamed in the Hebrew records.

The point of main interest to us is in the connection between the monuments excavated and the Biblical narrative. The first question to be answered is in regard to the history of the place. Menephthah, son of Ramses II., who was busy in all parts of Egypt, Upper and Lower, probably built here also, though no remains are found, and his royal oval does not appear. This may be accounted for in part by the fact that much of the stone used was a sort of white limestone which was soft and friable, so that it easily succumbed to the influence of atmosphere and weather. It is possible that some of the other things found belong to kings of the XX. and XXI. dynasties, but this is not certain. The next remains belong to Sheshonk I. (Shishak), Osorkon II., and Takelot, of the XXII. Dynasty, Nectanebo I., a great warrior and important king of the XXX. Dynasty, and finally to Ptolemy (II.) Philadelphus (284–247 B. C.). The reason why the city was maintained as it was

was that it was a frontier town on the southern route to Palestine and the East. Mons. Naville also found a stone belonging to a wall, on which were engraved Greek and Latin words: LOEPŌ | POLIS | ERO | CASTRA. (The vertical lines show the division into four lines of writing.) The meaning of LO is unknown. The first line is evidently by a hand very different from that which inscribed the other three. It will also be noticed that a Greek and a Latin combined to write the word Loeropolis, for the R of the first line is an upright line with a curve at the top which does not form a complete loop, such as is needed for a complete *ro*, and the P of the second line has not the Greek but the Latin form. The appearance of the writing leads me to suppose that it was begun by a Greek and finished by a Roman, who thus bore double testimony to the name of the place. We have here, then, the Heroöpolis of the Greeks and the Ero Castra of the Romans. A second Latin inscription was found all in one style, and almost intact. It reads, DDNN VICTORIBVS | MAXIMIANO ET SEVERO | IMPERATORIBVS ET | MAXIMINO ET CONSTANTINO | NOBILIS-SIMIS CAESARIBI --- | AB ERO IN CLVSMA | M VIII © | This is interesting both geographically and in connection with the identity of the place. The distance between Clysma and Ero is given as nine miles, whereas the Antonine Itinerary places the distance as 18 + 50 = 68 miles. The question is, What does this inscription prove? Does it prove anything? Are we justified in adopting the conclusion of Naville that there is here a discrepancy between the mile-stone and the Itinerary? Professor Dillmann has discussed this point, and after having given his grounds for the belief that there was a Clysma (Arabic, Qulzum), a little to the north of the present Suez, he gave as his conclusion that there must have been a second place of the same name on the isthmus unless some mistake shall be found to have been made in the interpretation of the mile-stone. He says that two things must be proved. First, that the stone originally stood in the place where found, and was not transported thither in later times; and second, that the stone really says what Naville claims that it does. The former of these points, however, need not concern us, as it is not well taken. What the stone says is true wherever it was found, whether it was at Tell-el-Maskhutah or Boulak Museum, or it is false. Dillmann had already acknowledged the truth of the statement that Hero was at Tell-el-Maskhutah, on the evidence of the other inscribed stones which were found *in situ*. The sole question to be determined is the second. If the statement of the stone is false, all conclusions based upon it must be false too. But, assuming the truth of the inscription, it is for us to consider whether there is a disagreement between it and the Antonine Itinerary which cannot be explained.

If we admit the identity of the Arabic Qulzum with Clysma, we must see what the result will be. Clysma was the port of the Red Sea. If the sea ever extended to the north of its present limits, it is only natural to suppose that the port was at such time situated at its northern limit. With the withdrawal of the sea, on account of the rising of the ground, the port must also have been withdrawn. The old site would fall into disuse, and be speedily swallowed up in the drifting sand, so that all traces of it might readily be lost in a decade, let alone a century or two. The northern place would, on this theory, be the older, but of its existence we have only the testimony of the mile-stone, and to that is opposed the statement of the Itinerary. But this is by no means decisive. It

can readily be imagined that if there ever were a city nine miles from Hero bearing the name, and if it had fallen into ruin through the loss of its trade, which was its life, it would be natural for the Romans, in establishing a camp on the old site, to restore the old name in a Latinized form just as they did at Heroöpolis-Hero. The cases would be exactly parallel. It would then be to this camp that the mile-stone referred, whereas the Itinerary refers to the city, well known to travelers, near Suez, at the head of navigation at the time that the list was compiled, when possibly the camp Clysma had again fallen from the memory of man. The lack of precise knowledge of the date of the Itinerary shuts us up to conjecture on this point. But when all has been said, if the inscription has been properly read and reproduced, a dilemma stands before us: either there was a Clysma nine Roman miles from Tell-el-Maskhutah, or Hero-Heroöpolis is still buried in some unknown and unexplored mound.

In connection with the question of the location of Heroöpolis, there is another matter of considerable interest. It has been held by some that the Red Sea never came further north than at present. Upon this theory there is a more obvious conflict between the mile-stone and the Itinerary, which seems incapable of explanation. No theory of the transfer of a name with the port is possible. The discrepancy cannot be bridged. The nine miles of the mile-stone cannot be reconciled with the sixty-eight given by the Itinerary as the distance from "Hero" to Clysma. Besides, this would require the entire and complete overthrow of the evidence, not only of the mile-stone, but also of the other inscriptions bearing the name Heroöpolis and Ero Castra. So far as we have been able to learn, the theory of the non-extension of the sea rests upon the geological argument and upon the view of Lepsius that the ruins of a canal to the north of Suez militate against the supposition that a waterway was constructed where the sea had been. To the geological argument little weight need be attached in the face of such expert testimony as that of Professor Dawson¹ of Montreal, and Professor Hull² of Dublin, confirmed as it is by the facts related by Sir John Coode and Du Bois Aymé.³ These authorities hold firmly to the belief that the sea formerly included the Bitter Lakes or even Lake Timsah. The existence of many sea-shells in the region between Suez and the Bitter Lakes points to the recent presence of the sea. Sir John Coode⁴ says that recently he made examination of the ground in this region, and within a very short distance of the surface a layer of salt was turned up precisely such as would be found upon ground which had been covered by a shallow body of salt water, and which had very gradually emerged from it. Other such facts are related, which point to the conclusion that slowly and by degrees an arm of the sea, north of Suez, was made shallow by a rising of the ground. If this was the case, and navigation was hindered by any such cause, it would have been quite natural to have endeavored to overcome the difficulty by constructing a canal which should take the place of the natural water-way. The existence of the canal cannot be

¹ *Egypt and Syria: their physical features in relation to Bible History.* By Sir J. William Dawson, LL. D., F. R. S., etc. (By-Paths of Bible Knowledge. VI.) London, 1885.

² *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, April, 1884.

³ *Description de l'Égypte*, iii. 187-192, iv. 715-732.

⁴ *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, April, 1885.

taken as a valid argument till its age shall have been proved to be so great as to antedate the city uncovered by Mons. Naville. Further light is thrown upon the case by the fact that the "rocky barrier" at Chaluf, the point where the ground is highest between Suez and the Bitter Lakes, of which so much has been made and on which the strength of the geological argument rests, was at its highest point in the line of the Suez Canal, *six feet below the present Red Sea level*. (See my note in the "Independent" of April 14, 1887, p. 7.)

This theory of the presence of the sea as far north as the present Ismailia is not in conflict with the testimony of the ancient geographers. Strabo speaks of Heroöpolis as situated near the head of the gulf which was called after the name of the city. In fact, it may be said, if the city was situated at Tell-el-Maskhutah, as the monuments go to prove, what sense would there be in calling the gulf after the name of a city sixty-eight miles away? Thus, inferentially, the language of Strabo might be considered as giving evidence of the near proximity of navigable waters.

In another respect this view is of great interest. If the sea came no further than Suez at the time of the Exodus, the Israelites must have gone beyond Suez to have found a spot where the miraculous crossing was among the natural possibilities, or where there was any sea. To this view it has been pertinently remarked, that it adds to the improbabilities of the case. Where was the need of such despair as the Israelites showed, if there was a belt of land between Suez and the Bitter Lakes which they could cross dry-shod? If, on the contrary, they were shut in by a broad though shallow body of water which extended nearly to Pithom on the north, there is good and reasonable ground for the explanation of their desponding complaints. To the south there was no escape possible, to the north was the army of Pharaoh, to the west was the land they were so anxious to leave, and to the east a vast body of water. They were thus shut in by the sea. On such grounds as these it would be reasonable to accept the theory; but when supported by the expert testimony of geologists and engineers it gains still further and perhaps conclusive strength.

Has Mons. Naville discovered the city of Pithom? This is a question that has received two, or possibly three, answers. It has been answered affirmatively by some, negatively by a writer in the "Athenæum" (No. 2,994), and doubtfully by others. What are, then, the facts on which the identification has been based, and in what degree do the facts bear out the theory?

The work of Naville has already been outlined, though some details remain to be mentioned. The earliest remains found belonged to Ramses II., the last Pharaoh of the XIX. Dynasty, the date of which is given variously by different writers. Thus Champollion gives 1473 B. C., Wilkinson, 1395; Bunsen, 1410; Lepsius, 1443; Bruegsch (1859), 1464, (1877), 1400; Unger, 1404; Lieblein, 1231; Mariette, 1462; Lauth, 1585, and the approximate number given by Wiedemann is 1490. (See Wiedemann's "Ägyptische Geschichte," pp. 732-33.) The fact that no earlier remains are found points very conclusively to the view that in Ramses II. we see the founder of the city, whatever its name may have been. The succession of monuments during about eleven hundred and fifty years shows that the place was of considerable importance and was kept in constant repair. This was due doubtless to the fact that here at

Tell-el-Maskhutah was situated one of the border towns on the southern route to Asia, which must be kept well fortified to protect the land from incursions of the nomads of the eastern deserts. That the city obtained a Greek name indicates the importance of its location at a strategic point. That it was occupied by the Romans is also evident, not only from the inscriptions found there, but also from a multitude of other vestiges and tokens of their occupation. Among these is one that cannot but be a matter of regret to all, whether they are inclined to accept or to reject the conclusions of Naville. This was the vandalism shown in the treatment of most of the monuments that would be so precious to us now. They leveled off the ground, filled those strange subterranean chambers, and wellnigh destroyed all evidence by which the place can now be more positively identified.

When Mons. Naville began to dig, he found an immense wall of brick which surrounded a space that covered 55,000 square yards. Inside of this was a temple dedicated to Tum, at the southwest corner; and occupying the rest of the space were series of subterranean chambers, without communication with each other, that he regards as "store-chambers." To this view objection has been made by Dr. Lansing in the "Monthly Interpreter" (Nov. 1885, pp. 32-50), on the ground that such chambers would be useless for the storage of grain or any such thing, on account of dampness. He believes rather that they were constructed to effect a saving of the amount of dirt thus displaced, the importance of which he fully explains. Practically it makes little difference which view is adopted, for it is not necessary to regard the Hebrew text as requiring the reading either of "store-cities" (R. V.), or "treasure-cities" (A. V.), and perhaps Dr. Lansing's "residence-cities" is as good as either. It would seem, however, as though the question will have to be decided, if at all, by an examination of the *facts* in the case. If the level of the bottom of the chambers is high enough to insure freedom from dampness, so that they should be dry during the time of high water on the Nile and in the canal, they may have been used as Naville supposes; but if not, the theory of Dr. Lansing is the best yet proposed. For the region about Cairo it is the only one, but if the ground about Tell-el-Maskhutah is considerably higher (a point on which I am not informed), there is the possibility at least of the other for that place.

Outside of this great wall other remains from the Roman period were found. The names of the kings whose ovals have been found have been mentioned already. The objects found were the following, and in giving the list the occurrence of the names of the city and region are specified, so that the date of each mention of either can be approximately fixed. The first was a large black granite hawk, bearing the name of Ramses II. and the name of the god Harmachis. The second was a fragment of the naos which had been taken to Ismailia. It had been broken, and the piece found by Naville bore the name of Theku "determined" with the sign for "foreign people." It bears also a part of the name of Ramses II. The third was a part of a tablet bearing the name of Sheshonk I., but with no geographical allusions. The fourth is a "statue of a squatting man," from the time of Osorkon II. (XXII. Dynasty, 975-811 B. C.), bearing the name of Anḫ-renp-nefer, "the good recorder of Tum." On this monument the name of Pithom occurs three times, and in neither case is there any "determinative." In other respects the writing of the name is exactly the same as in the later tablet of Ptolemy

II., and consists of the conventional representation of a house, followed by a short vertical line to indicate what the exact reading was (pi, pe, or pa, not h), and ending with the representation of the god Tum bearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. In one case the word occurs as the direct object. The fifth was an undated tablet of a priest, which speaks of him as the "principal of the priests of Tum, the great priest (over) of Theku." Theku is here determined by the city sign, so that the evidence at hand would show that this name had been applied to the city during the interval between Ramses II. and this inscription. The same stone speaks also of the *hat-ntr nt Tum ntr āa hr qb Thku*, "Temple (sanctuary) of Tum, the great god in the midst of Theku." Here the "sanctuary" of Tum is a very different thing from the "dwelling" of Tum, Pi-tum. Theku is written as before, except for the interchange of two equivalents for the vowel *u*. The evidence of this stone can scarcely be overestimated, the only drawback being that it is without date. Another fragment (Pl. iii. c.) bears the name alone and cannot be chronologically arranged. A sixth was found, but so broken that the name of the king could not be read. It contained no mention of localities. The seventh find consisted of parts of two inscribed statues, the one giving no geographical hints and not dated, the other also undated, but having some important readings. The person whose praise is recorded was *ān (sesh) hat-ntr n tem thku*, "scribe of the sanctuary of Tum (of) Theku," etc., and it is further said that *ta s-mn rn hnā mstui (?) atft(?) n m hat-ntr n tm ntr āa ānχ Thku an sek*, "she (Hathor) grants that the name remain with the statue (? Naville) in the temple of Tum the great, living god of Theku (Succoth), (it shall) not (be) destroyed" (vii. A. 3). The inference to be drawn from this is evident. The statue was set up in the temple of Tum, where it was to remain, and where it was found. The eighth was the most important document on all accounts. Not only does it refer many times to Pithom and Theku (Succoth), but also to other names of importance, and it has added to the list of words known and unknown to the Egyptologist. It aids also in the determination of some points of geography, and clears up in great part some dark subjects. It was the tablet of Ptolemy II. Unfortunately the style of engraving is very bad in some parts, and, in consequence, the reading of the signs is rendered extremely difficult. Naville says: "... to get a quite correct copy of it, it will be necessary to collate it several times with the original." Any one who has attempted to make out the reading on an old weather-beaten gravestone will understand how much greater the difficulty is in a hieroglyphic inscription, not only worn and defaced, but also badly engraved in the first instance. As a consequence, the copy here given is only tentative and the translation given is scarcely more, nor is it claimed to be more than a "rough sketch" or first attempt. Later study must come in to correct any mistakes in the published work. It may be said, by way of explanation, that the text which is published was of necessity made up from photographs and a paper squeeze. Naturally, then, we have here the *minimum*. Later work and study may bring out further details and may change some of the readings in minor points; but the present text will approximate to the correct one.

At the present time it must suffice to enumerate the passages where the various names of especial interest to us occur. The name Pi-tum (Pithom) occurs twice, and in each case it is "determined" with the

city sign. The passages are Plate ix. line 10, in the first half, and line 13, in second half. In the first passage the text is imperfect, so that the connection is obscure; but in the other the reading is *er xnt neteru Pi-Tum Thku*, "before the gods (of) Pithom-Theku." Here the writing of these two names is exactly parallel, so that if one is a city the other is the same. The close connection in which they stand, without any intervening word expressing relation, is very significant, and points to the identity of the two. The fact that we have found that Tum was the principal divinity of Succoth, and that he had a temple dedicated to his honor at Tell-el-Maskhutah, is significant, especially as we have a mention of the fact in explicit language. When we read of the "sanctuary of Tum, the great living god of Succoth," we cannot but be struck with the fact that there is here an evident contrast between this method of naming it and the other, *Pi-tum*, "dwelling of Tum." It has been claimed that this last does not refer to a city; but to those who have made study of Egyptian ancient geography, the statement of the claim is absurd. Here we have a temple of Tum in Pithom in the district of Succoth.

This is the last mention of Pithom that we have found. The name Theku, however, occurs several times in the same tablet, in such phrases as *n nu Thku*, "in the city of Theku," determined with the double sign "foreign or border land" and "city" (ix. 1), *n Theku* "in Theku" (x. 25, 28) with the same "determinatives." With the "city" sign alone it occurs six times (viii., 3d vert. line at right top of inscription, ix. 2, 3, 14, x. 19, 21) and in the form *Thkut* three times without any determinative at all (ix. 7, 13, 14). The phrases are *n tm ntr da Thku*, (forever) "before Tum the great god of Succoth," (viii., 3d vert. line, top; ix. 2; x. 19, 21); *ntr da hr tp Thkt*, "great god over Thekut" (ix. 3); *er Thkt*, "into Thkut" (ix. 14). In x. 16, middle of line, the name occurs in the shorter form which is frequent in other writings, *Thk*.

The readings occur in great variety and with many minor changes, but with little real difference. Occasionally one form of the vowel *u* is used for another, and the determinative of "city" is sometimes supplemented by another and sometimes it is omitted entirely. As in the hieroglyphic writing generally, so here, the short vowels are disregarded. Where no vowel is expressed and where one is nevertheless necessary for the vocalization of the word intended, the conventional *e* is used. It does not stand necessarily for an *e*, but merely to indicate the presence of a short vowel, *a*, *e*, *i*, or *u*. In nearly all of the transliterations (except the German) of the Egyptian *Thku*-(t) which we have seen, even in those of Naville, the word is written *Thaku*-(t). There is only one occurrence of the name in all the monuments found which would even seem to justify this, and that one must be read to correspond with the rest. The reading has been made, it would appear, to make the word correspond with the English form rather than with the Hebrew. The writer of Exodus did not make any mistake in transliterating the name, but wrote as the Egyptian did, *Sko(u)th* (סכור). An anonymous writer in the "Athenæum" has derided the probability of the phonetic change of the Egyptian *Th* into the Hebrew *S*, but with little glory to himself, in the face of the evidence of Dr. Brugsch, who long ago placed the two words in question as equivalents, and of Prof. Ebers, whose opinion on the subject is most decided and outspoken.

Was Succoth, then, identical with Pithom? Ex. i. 11 says, "And they

(the Israelites) built for Pharaoh store cities (ערי מסכנור, = fenced cities, II. ch. viii. 4), Pithom and Raamses" (רעמסס and פתום).

The name Raamses or Rameses occurs several times in Scripture, but the name Pithom only here. The proof that the mound uncovered by Naville was Pithom, depends in part upon the proof that the name Succoth (Ex. xii. 37) is the civil name corresponding to Pithom, the sacred name, and of this the monuments leave no shadow of doubt.

Ex. xii. 37: "And the children of Israel journeyed from Rameses to Succoth" (סכר).

It is strange that in this passage their names are thus used. If Pithom (Ex. i. 11) was a sacred name, we are justified in supposing that Raamses (Pi-Raamses) was also; and if Pithom and Succoth are identical, it is strange that the profane (civil) name (Succoth) is placed in proximity with the sacred name (Raamses). Now, it would seem improbable that the children of Israel should start out from a single city — Raamses — as from a rendezvous, but much more probable that it was from the *region* of Rameses, and that they journeyed into the *region* of Succoth. Attention may here be called to a peculiar fact which is at least worthy of note though it may not *prove* anything. The name Raamses (רעמסס) occurs but once with this pointing, and then expressly of a *city*; with the pointing (רעמסס) Rameses it occurs four times (Gen. xlvii. 11, Ex. xii. 37, and Num. xxxiii. 3 and 5), once expressly of a *land* or *region*. In the passage now under consideration it has the pointing נעמסס, as also in the other parallel passages which refer to this same journey. It may be inferred that there was a distinction intended by the authors of the massoretic points, and if such was the case it has been strictly adhered to.

To our mind this explanation, making Rameses and Succoth *regions*, not cities, is the more probable and reasonable. The question of the identity of Pithom and Succoth as the two names of a city is then of subordinate importance. Already in 1881, Ebers spoke decidedly of *Theku* as a region which was inhabited by foreigners and was situated at the "entrance to the East." The identification of Theku(t) with Succoth he also adopts, following Brugsch, making no objection and raising no question on phonetic grounds. In a later paper¹ Professor Ebers has supported with warmth the view that there is no phonetic difficulty whatever in the way. We have found the name *Theku-t* nineteen times in the eight pages of monuments reproduced by Mons. Naville, and of the name there are no less than eight different forms given. As already said, this profusion of forms need cause no doubt or uncertainty, as such a variety is, fortunately, frequent in the hieroglyphic writing, thus enabling specialists to arrive more nearly at the vocalization of the words. But the variety of determinatives is very instructive. We see that the word has stood for more than one thing, and that it was applied to a "district" in which a "foreign people" dwelt, as well as to a city, the former being much the earlier usage.

The explanation that has been given of a double nomenclature is entirely satisfactory. Egyptian kings had double names, their own and those assumed upon taking the throne. So, too, the cities had double names, as is known in many cases.

In the present case, we have seen that there was a temple to Tum,

¹ *Academy*, No. 681, New Issue, May 23, 1885, p. 373, first column; *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, etc., 1835, 2. Heft, p. 49.

and that there was a *city* Pithom, the one in or near the other. Now, Tum is spoken of again and again as *āa ānch ntr n Thku*, "the great, living god in *Thku* (Succoth);" and that Succoth was a general designation of a country or region, and also of a city, has not been questioned. The proximity and connection between Pi-tum and Succoth (city) would go to show that they are one and the same, only called by two names, and that the city Pithom-Succoth is in the region of Succoth.

Among the other results of the work of Naville are some of great importance as to the geography of the Delta. A glance at the map prepared by Brugsch in 1881 shows some peculiar facts. Herakopolis is placed on it near the present Suez on the east side of the Red Sea, and Arsinoë is near by. Pithom is in the district of Theku, but at the north of the Delta, just west of Pelusium. In the Wadi Timulat there is nothing except two or three marks, designating ruins. Pithom was supposed to be the ancient name of Heracleopolis Parva. Now all this is changed. The Wadi Timulat is shown to have been the home of a numerous people and the scene of verdure and plenty; it was on the most frequented route to Asia, and a place that had to be guarded by garrison cities. Much was already known about the name or district in which Pithom was situated, but having been wrongly located, all the deductions drawn from the facts recorded on the monuments were false.

C. R. Gillett.

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BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

THE DOCTRINE OF ENDLESS PUNISHMENT. By Prof. W. G. T. SHEDD, D. D. 8vo, pp. vii, 163. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1886. \$1.50.

This book is in three parts: first comes a very slight historical sketch of the doctrine (11 pages), last, the rational argument for the doctrine, which was published in February, 1885, in the "North American Review," and has received its meed of criticism (45 pages). Between these we find the really new part of the work, the "Biblical Argument," which fills 106 pages. To this we shall confine our attention.

The main position which the author takes, to which he devotes fifty-five pages, is that *Sheol* in the Old Testament, and *Hades* in the New, mean sometimes *hell*, sometimes *the grave*.

We must make two remarks in advance, on this double translation of *Sheol* and *Hades*. First, as to its great convenience. It is like a fox's hole with two exits far apart, so that the inhabitant can never be caught at, or smoked out of, either opening. If one adduces texts which imply conscious existence and the gathering together of those whose graves were far apart, then, of course, *Sheol* or *Hades* cannot mean *the grave*, and is *hell*. But if, on the contrary, texts are cited which apply to good men in connection with *Sheol* or *Hades*, then of course it means only *the grave*. Persecuted in one signification, it is easy to flee unto the other; indeed, it is difficult to argue against such a Protean theory, because one only produces the impression of having proved that the opponent has wrongly classified a few texts. Second, we call attention to its utter fallacy from the linguistic point of view. We can hardly expect to be

understood and believed, except by those who have made a specialty of the study of language, when we say, that the idea of a word having, and preserving in its equivalent in another language (*Sheol* = *Hades*) for many centuries, two meanings so wide apart, nay, so inconsistent, as *hell* and *grave*, is a philological absurdity. We might, like Boettcher ("De Inferis," p. 73, the great authority on this subject, whom Dr. Shedd never mentions), rest the case on the linguistic argument, but it will be more satisfactory to most readers if we deal briefly with our author's reasons.

Dr. Shedd argues that *Sheol* means *hell* on four grounds:—

1. "Because it is denounced against sin and sinners, and not against the righteous."

This is skillfully worded; for how could anything be *denounced* against the righteous, in the Bible? Yet this is really no argument. Several things are denounced in the Bible against the wicked and not against the righteous, which really are part of the earthly lot of both righteous and wicked. Sickness, poverty, suffering, affliction, evil of all kinds, and especially death,—all are denounced against sinners in the Bible; yet they enter into the lot of the righteous, and death, which is especially denounced against sinners, comes to all alike (Ps. xlix. 10). Further, it must be said that the righteous in the Old Testament distinctly expect to go down to *Sheol*, no less than the wicked,—even are represented as consciously existing in *Sheol*, righteous and wicked together. Thus Jacob expects to rejoin Joseph in *Sheol* (Gen. xxxvii. 35); and Samuel, summoned by the witch of Endor, predicts that Saul and his three sons will join him there on the morrow; the righteous and the wicked meeting. Moreover, it will not do to insist that *Sheol* means *grave* here: for Jacob supposes that Joseph has been devoured by wild beasts; and Saul and his three sons were not buried till at least several days after that on which Samuel was to meet them. This *Sheol* is the common place for all (Job xxx. 23). In it are whole armies, and nations, and they are represented as living, speaking, etc. (Ezek. xxxii. 17–32; Is. xiv. 9–23).¹ It would be easy, did space permit, to show many other passages inconsistent with the idea of *Sheol* as meaning either *hell* or *grave*.

2. Because "there is no other proper name for hell in the Old Testament."

Why must there necessarily be a proper name for hell in the Old Testament? Does Dr. Shedd think that every doctrine of the Bible must find proof in the Old Testament? If so, it would be easy to instance other defects. The fact is, that only the germs of a doctrine of future retribution are to be found in the Old Testament; and while *Sheol* is all the name there is for *hell* in it, it never means what we mean thereby.²

3. Because "it is contrasted with the Old Testament texts which speak of the contrary bright abode of the righteous and of their state of blessedness."

It is rather hard for Dr. Shedd to find these "Old Testament texts." He quotes Numbers xxiii. 5, 10, Proverbs xiv. 32, which do not touch the subject; also Psalms xvi. 11, xvii. 15, which are generally understood not to look beyond death.³ Isaiah xxv. 8 looks forward to the Messianic time, and of all the passages adduced one alone contains the contrast to *Sheol* on which the validity of Dr. Shedd's argument depends. This is

¹ See the admirable article of Professor Moore in this *Review*, November, 1884, where these passages are discussed.

² Moore, *l. c.*, p. 443.

³ Moore, *l. c.*, p. 447.

Psalm xlix. 15, "But God will redeem my soul from the power of Sheol; for He shall receive me." But this manifestly expresses a confidence that God will make an exception in the case of the writer and rescue him from, perhaps out of, Sheol, to which he expects to be consigned. There is not the faintest intimation that *all the righteous, as such*, are saved from Sheol, nor is it even certain that the writer might not go there for a time. At all events, there is no evidence here to identify Sheol with hell.

4. Because "it is inseparably connected with spiritual and eternal death."

Here, again, we have the same irrelevance of quotation which seems a besetting sin of our author. Two thirds of the space under this head is taken up with passages about death in general, of no cogency here. Then a few texts are cited containing the words "death" and "destruction," in connection with Sheol. It is asserted that the death and destruction are spiritual, but no proof of this is given; and certainly Abaddon, translated *destruction* is not spiritual, while "death" is apparently physical all through. Indeed, it may be doubted whether there is any definite conception of spiritual death in the Old Testament. But with either meaning of these words, they do not furnish any necessary presumption that *Sheol* means *hell*. Dr. Shedd completely misstates the case when he says (page 34):—

"But if Sheol be taken in the mythological sense of an underworld, or spirit-world, there is no inseparable connection between it and "death," either physical or spiritual. Physical death has no power in the spirit world over a disembodied spirit. And spiritual death is separable from Sheol in the case of the good."

If Sheol is the world of the dead, of departed spirits, is there no inseparable connection between it and death through which all enter there? What a strange assumption it is that death has no connection with the state of the dead, because they cannot die *again*! Further, Dr. Shedd would put the *second* death in here. That would certainly be applicable after the judgment, according to a later theology, to all the wicked in Sheol. But this does not imply that *Sheol* means *hell*.

We pass over the attempt to prove that *Sheol* means *grave* in many passages, because, though easily refuted, it does not bear directly on "eternal punishment." Then Dr. Shedd gives five reasons for translating *Hades* in the New Testament *hell*.

1. The parable of Dives and Lazarus.

But this proves only that there is in Hades a place of punishment, before the judgment, for the wicked. It cannot be proved that Lazarus and Abraham were in heaven; indeed, the parable, counting in what its hearers believed on the subject, gives rather the impression that they were not, but rather in a part of Hades remote from Dives and his pain.

2. "Hades is represented as the contrary of heaven, and the contrary of heaven is hell (Matthew xi. 23)."

This is rapid but entirely inconclusive reasoning. *Hades* and *Sheol*, even *Earth*, are used as contrasts to *heaven* in the Bible, only, of course, not all in the same aspect. In this passage both *heaven* and *Hades* are figurative, Capernaum had not been exalted to heaven except figuratively, so that as *heaven* stands here for the extreme of privilege, so *Hades* stands for the extreme of abasement. There is here no proof that *Hades* means *hell*.

3. "Hades is represented as Satan's kingdom, antagonistic to that of Christ (Matthew xvi. 18)."

The point to be proved is here assumed, as the passage says nothing about Satan's kingdom at all. Hades may prevail against Christ's church if Christians are not delivered from Hades, or even if the church dies off the earth before Christ's second coming.

4. "Hades is represented as the prison of Satan and the wicked."

We agree that Hades includes the intermediate state of the wicked, but deny that it is ever represented as the prison of Satan. The passages given by Dr. Shedd (Revelations i. 18; iii. 7; xx. 1-3; xx. 12-14) do not present a shadow of proof of it.

5. "Hades, like Sheol, is inseparably connected with spiritual and eternal death."

The three passages given (Revelations i. 18; vi. 8; xx. 13) all refer to physical death, and the explanation given of Revelations vi. 8 is a curiosity of exegesis: "Hades here stands for its inhabitants, who are under the power of ('follow') the 'second death' spoken of in Revelation ii. 11; xx. 6, 14; xxi. 8." Yet, of course, there is a real connection between Hades and spiritual death, as implied in the parable of Dives and Lazarus; but this does not at all involve the equivalence of Hades and hell. There is much more reasoning and exegesis of the same kind in the book; but it is sufficient to have illustrated the unsoundness of our author's main position.

In conclusion we must protest against Dr. Shedd's misuse of the Bible. Take this (page 50):—

"Our Lord affirms that the future existence of the soul is so clearly taught by 'Moses and the prophets,' that if a man is not convinced by them, neither would he be 'though one should rise from the dead' (Luke xvi. 29)."

Of course there is no reference at all to "the future existence of the soul" here; it is the motives to repentance that are clearly taught by Moses and the prophets. Similar mistakes may be found on pages v., 23, 25, 28, 30, 32, 33, 35, 38, etc. Thrice he cites Psalm xlix. 14, perhaps the worst mistranslation in the Authorized Version, without a word about its false impression; and the arguments on pages 36, 38, strictly taken, seem to deny the omnipresence of Christ and God, by implying that if in heaven they cannot also be in the intermediate state.

The gravest fault of this book is that it weakens the proof of "eternal punishment," in which we believe as fully as Dr. Shedd, by resting it in a great degree on the assumption that *Sheol* and *Hades* mean *hell*. He even ventures to say (page 65) that if Hades be not regarded as hell, "Hades will be merely a temporary residence of the human soul, where the punishment of sin is imperfect, and its removal possible and probable." This shows how much is risked by resting the doctrine on such grounds.

C. J. H. Ropes.

BANGOR, MAINE.

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY. A Compendium and Commonplace-Book, designed for the use of theological students. By AUGUSTUS HOPKINS STRONG, D. D., President and Professor of Biblical Theology in the Rochester Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 758. Sold only by O. W. Jansen, Agent, 6 Trevor Hall, Rochester. \$5.00.

This substantial volume is the product of long professional service. It is a growth, being a revision and enlargement of lectures printed in 1876 for use in the Rochester Seminary. The author's aim has been to construct a handbook for theological students which should serve as a guide for oral elaboration in the lecture-room. Two sizes of type facilitate this purpose. The main text affords a basis for daily recitation, while the smaller print amplifies by way of proof and illustration. The plan of the book places it outside the range of literary attempt, and therefore beyond literary criticism. The outline is concise and pointed, yet sufficiently full.

Dr. Strong has availed himself of the advantages of his method, which enables him to compress into a single volume an unusually full discussion. Large use is made of historical theology, and this element makes it a very valuable compendium for the student and pastor. A striking excellence is the full bibliography of theological science here presented. Authorities and writers of all shades of opinion are cited freely, the most important by page references. Especially valuable are the abundant references to English and American periodicals. In short, the student is put in possession of all the instruments of theological learning. And to attract him to seek these treasures, copious quotations are made from the best writers, not to mention the gems — brief, sententious expressions culled from general literature — which meet one on every page. This feature testifies to a remarkable range of reading, and to the tribute under which the author has laid all departments of thought to serve his purpose. Another characteristic is the large place given to the Scriptures. Every position taken is fortified by Biblical evidence, and the citations are printed in full in the subordinate text. The discussion is carried forward in a direct, logical manner, and characterized by breadth and scholarly attainment. We note as particularly satisfactory Dr. Strong's vindication of the necessity of theology and its importance for right religious life, the discussion of the Existence of God, the Trinity, and the Person of Christ. The ethical discussion is brief, occupying only six pages, and might profitably be expanded. Ethical postulates are fundamental, and demand larger consideration from a true theology.

The severity of form into which this treatise is cast befits the type of theology which is thorough-going Calvinism. The new theology, ancient or modern, receives no hospitality. The New England improvements in their diversity, from Edwards down, find no place in this consistent Calvinistic divinity. Yet it is so tempered with a Christian catholicity of spirit, and so interpenetrated with the suggestions of modern thought, as to be attractive and inspiring. So much of truth is interwoven that at first glance one does not perceive how much it has lost by being forced into the limitations of Augustinianism. The flowers are crushed, but their fragrance exhales from every page. The author is sensitive to the trend of modern thought and labors to satisfy its demands. But the requirements of his system are too much for him. At vital points the discussion wavers, damaging admissions are made, finally what appear to be the effects of early training combine with logical necessity, and

the system triumphs. The structure is too elaborate. After studying its complexity and perfection in detail, the question comes, Is it vital? Does it explain the facts? It is a beautiful machine, its symmetry is admirable, but is it not too highly articulated to be a practical, working theology?

Dr. Strong's doctrine of the Bible is disappointing. There is no attempt at a discussion of what the Bible is. The relations of the divine revelation to history, to ethics, and to science in the Scripture are not treated, except very inadequately under the head of objections to inspiration. We miss any consideration of the authority of Scripture, its nature, limit, and ground. This was not necessary, perhaps, in the author's view, for he seems to rest it on a supernaturally correct text. Dr. Strong's Bible contains no errors. What are charged as such are only permissible mistakes and discrepancies, which require, however, ten pages of explanation and apology. Against any such *a priori* method we protest. These mistakes of transcription or lapses of memory, these discrepancies as to number, date, and detail, are important data for our views of Scripture. They are not objections to inspiration, and should not be discussed as such, especially in a theological treatise. The question is not whether the Bible is inspired, but what inspiration is. Theology must not attempt to explain away manifest Biblical errors. Its task is to take them up into its doctrine of the Bible and to demonstrate that they do not impugn its divine authority. Dr. Strong teaches substantially a theory of verbal inspiration. Though he rejects dictation, and finds that the writers were usually left to the action of their own minds, yet they were held back from wrong words, and when necessary were given right ones. The organic unity of Scripture is emphasized, but no notice is taken of inspiration in the formation of the canon. We regard the treatment of this important subject as inadequate and misleading. The method is faulty. Throughout the discussion revelation and inspiration are hopelessly confounded, real difficulties are evaded, and the authority of the sacred volume is finally left hanging on the exploded fiction of an infallible text.

The conception of the character of God is fundamental in any theological system. What God is must determine his activity and our relations with Him. The grounds for belief in the existence of God are set forth here with admirable vigor and caution. Man knows God by rational intuition, God's existence is the condition of all rational processes. They presuppose Him. The cosmological, teleological, and ontological arguments are ably reviewed, their corroborative value noted, and their limitations clearly defined. In the discussion of the attributes of God, however, the author loses sight of what seems to us the clearest revelation God has given of himself. Error here is fatal. It runs through the whole system of thought, appearing in the discussion of sin and atonement and eschatology. In Dr. Strong's view holiness is the chief characteristic of God. It is the supreme and ruling attribute, conditioning the activity of all other attributes and conditioned by none. Love is subordinate. Thus the necessity of atonement is grounded in the holiness of God. This demand is satisfied "by the substitution of Christ's penal sufferings for the punishment of the guilty." In the punishment of the wicked holiness and love are represented as contending for the sufferers; but holiness finally overcomes the pleadings of love. "Holi-

ness shows itself higher than love in that it conditions love." God's mercy is shown in Christ's enduring the penal infliction by which holiness is satisfied. Our author does not make it clear to us, though, how God can in any proper sense punish himself. The inevitable antagonism which the author conceives as existing between mercy and justice is removed only by the atoning death of Christ. Holiness is the ground of moral obligation. Though love is declared by the Bible to be the fulfillment of the law, and love to God and one's neighbor is given the first place by Christ, Dr. Strong understands by it, love for God as *holy*. From this view of the divine nature we dissent. Long ago Hooker expressed a truth often overlooked: "The Being of God is a kind of law to his working." All the attributes of God demand satisfaction and perfect realization. The claims of love must be satisfied as well as those of holiness. No attribute reigns supreme in the Godhead. Every attribute conditions the activity of every other. Neither can there be any such conflict as this theology represents. Our author appropriates the saying, "God *may* be merciful, He *must* be just." But this cannot be true. Love is as absolute as holiness. Love is not supplementary and secondary. Justice guards its claims as well as those of holiness. Justice is not as is here represented merely active holiness. It secures the perfect satisfaction of all attributes. And this involves no conflict, but perfect harmony. By holiness we understand the absolute moral perfection of God, the norm of all moral activity. It does not stand opposed to love, but guarantees its righteous exercise.

In the discussion of sin and its punishment, the supremacy of holiness is again asserted. Dr. Strong finds the essence of sin to be selfishness. Virtue is essentially love to God, which is explained to be love for that which is most fundamental in God, holiness. Consistently, the author makes justice the antagonist and punisher of sin. But if the essence of sin is selfishness, is not love its inevitable antagonist? Concerning the origin of sin Dr. Strong teaches the Augustinian theory. The race sinned in Adam, who was not its federal head, but its natural head. The life of humanity, not yet individualized, was then in Adam. His will was that of the race afterwards generated. Adam's sin is imputed to us immediately, therefore, because it is ours. Involuntarily and unconsciously, yet none the less truly, every man sinned with Adam. Guilt is ours because we participated in the act of sin. The traducian theory of the origin of souls is adopted. Man's depravity is total, though he still has the ability to grow worse. He has no thought, emotion or act which God can approve. He has no ability, natural or moral, to turn to God, and is responsible for his loss of it. Penalty must follow, as every man is guilty by sharing in Adam's fall. When all this doctrine is based on Scripture as its chief support, one can imagine the sort of exegesis employed. The great advances of recent years in Biblical interpretation have been all in vain for the theology which this volume represents.

The infants prove too much for our author's heart, and the head follows its lead in granting them salvation. They are in a state of sin, need regeneration, and receive it through Christ at death. In this connection the significant remark is made that "certain and great as is the guilt of original sin no human soul is eternally condemned solely for this sin of nature, but that on the other hand all who have not consciously and willfully transgressed are made partakers of Christ's salvation." How this can be on his theory of sin the author does not explain, and it certainly

is not evident. The salvation of infants stands outside his system, and his treatment, if carried out, would lead to an entire reconstruction of his view of moral probation, and this, in turn, would destroy the Augustinian theory of sin. Nine objections to this theory are noticed, but not satisfactorily answered.

Atonement receives full and able discussion. The various theories are carefully estimated, and an attempt made to reach a profounder view under the ethical theory. With the purpose of the author we sympathize. But here the Adamic headship in sin and the supremacy of holiness in God's character vitiate the discussion. The race-sin and race-responsibility pass over to Christ. As a child of Adam Jesus inherited guilt, but not depravity. This was expelled by the Holy Spirit. Possessing guilt, Christ must suffer the penalty of violated law. The guilt of Jesus was not personal, nor even that of inherited depravity, but solely that of Adam's sin. So while well-pleasing to God, Christ was conscious of this race-guilt for which he must atone. This consciousness is found expressed in John xii. 27. The necessity of the atonement is found in God's holiness. The satisfaction of this holiness is the necessary condition of God's justifying the believer. Atonement is only incidentally and subordinately necessary for man. The penalty God inflicts, He also offers himself to endure. We find in Dr. Strong's treatment no vital significance given to love in Christ's sacrifice. The whole view is that of legal satisfaction. True, he grants that love offered the sacrifice, but the full meaning of that fact is not appropriated in the discussion.

The atonement was universal, but this system admits only a limited application of it to the elect. God chooses whom He will save without reference to ethical conditions, in the absoluteness of his sovereignty. Were it not for these special divine influences for some, all would perish. His decree of election is unknown to its subjects, which fact the author regards as a stimulus to effort. To the objection that such a doctrine of election makes God partial, he replies that since nothing in men determines God's choice of one rather than another, the objection is invalid. Reprobation is a permissive decree that sin shall run its course.

The sacraments and the church are treated from the strict Baptist standpoint, with ability and Christian courtesy. Pedobaptists may learn something from it, as their authorities are critically reviewed.

As a whole, the work is a credit to the intellectual strength of its author, a monument of learning which his friends may well cherish. The faults are mainly those of the theological system which holds the author in its grasp. However much one may dissent from his positions, he must admit the force of his logic. We regard Dr. Strong's work as one of the strongest presentations that can be made for the extreme Calvinistic system of theology. And though its conclusions may not commend themselves generally, even to his own denomination, the reverent temper and catholic spirit which pervade the book must command universal admiration.

Willis A. Anderson.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By the Rev. BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD, D. D. Feap. 8vo, pp. 225. London: Hodder & Stoughton. MDCCLXXXVI. (One volume of a series of Manuals, entitled THE THEOLOGICAL EDUCATOR, edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M. A., Editor of "The Expositor.")

This is a bright little book. After showing, in a clear and familiar way, that every reader is, in a sense, a textual critic, the author proceeds to discuss his theme under the four general divisions of the "Matter of Criticism" (that is, the extant helps for ascertaining the original text of Scripture); the "Methods of Criticism" (which treats—in *this order*—of the internal evidence for readings, then of the external); the "Praxis of Criticism," in which (after conceding that the best procedure reverses the order just stated, and begins with the *external* evidence to proceed from that to the internal) the author takes Acts xx. 28; John i. 18; 1 Tim. iii. 16; John vii. 53–viii. 11; Mark xvi. 9–20, as examples; and finally (and briefly) the "History of Criticism." The treatment of these several topics is in the main lucid, and is often felicitously lighted up by illustrations. The author is to be congratulated upon his success in making every intelligent reader feel the fascination of a branch of study reputed to be recondite and uninteresting.

Professor Warfield's chief labor has been expended on the second of the above-named chapters, which occupies one hundred pages, or nearly half of the body of the little book. He may be pardoned, perhaps, for treating at such length a branch of his subject which especially interests him, and which relates to a field in which he has made valuable original explorations. But whether the harmonious proportions of the book have not been marred by this extended treatment may be questioned. It is doubtful whether, notwithstanding all the author's skill in presentation, his helpful diagrams, and his illustrative examples drawn from the history of secular texts, the average beginner will not sometimes seem to himself to be in a jungle. Moreover, there is some danger lest the author's undisguised and enthusiastic advocacy of the "genealogical method" make an exaggerated impression on the unwary reader. The latter receives, to be sure, in the course of the book, repeated reminders that there is no royal road to criticism, and that results in questionable cases cannot be reached in the off-hand way in which he would foot up a column of figures. But by the time he reaches the end of the chapter he can hardly escape the conviction that the values belonging to the extant authorities have been pretty definitely ascertained and registered, and that in practice he is to weed out one set of witnesses discredited by certain experts, and listen to other witnesses indorsed in advance by these same experienced investigators. And this his liability to a mechanical use of the method advocated is confirmed rather than neutralized by the examples brought forward in the chapter on Praxis. Some of these examples are among the gravest outstanding problems of criticism, and the author's limits compel him to deal with them in a summary way quite out of proportion to their delicacy and importance.

Now it may yet come to pass that our extant authorities will be so well understood in their origin and relations as to secure for the "genealogical method" all the practical advantages which belong to it in theory. But cautious critical scholars are far from claiming that such a stage of knowledge has yet been reached. On the contrary, the extant documents are so complicated and at times conflicting in their characteristics, their pedi-

grees are apparently so mixed and certainly so dubious, the researches requisite to enable even a sagacious expert to hazard a conjecture respecting the descent of some of them are so delicate and wide-reaching, and have been attempted as yet by so few, that it is misleading to expose a beginner to the assumption that the "method" may be adopted by him outright as the final and decisive resource. As a safeguard against any such erroneous assumption, it would have been better to select for the "Praxis," not the *cruces criticorum*, but texts concerning which the judgments of experts have already come into harmony. And, as a further counteractive to any onesided impressions, it would have been well to exhibit, in a tabulated or summary form, the general coincidence in results to which the leading representatives of different methods have come in a given chapter or book of the New Testament.

Among the conspicuous merits of the manual — as has been already intimated — are its numerous and apt illustrations, many of them drawn from matters with which every reader is familiar. It is a substantial service, too, which Professor Warfield has rendered the inexperienced student by transcribing and explaining at length a note or two from Tischendorf's eighth larger critical edition. See pages 23 *sqq.*, 79. In a few particulars, indeed, the explanation should have been more detailed; and there are traces here, as elsewhere, of minor inaccuracies, attributable, doubtless, to the author's distance from the press. Indeed, there are occasional ambiguities and infelicities in the English, due probably to the same cause, which may be expected to disappear in future editions. In anticipation of such, the suggestion will not, it is hoped, be regarded as intrusive that indexes, both topical and textual, be furnished, and that the lists of manuscripts, versions, fathers, be repeated at the end of the volume. Nor would it conflict materially with Professor Warfield's evident and laudable endeavor to produce a readable book were the definitions, which at present are introduced incidentally, to be gathered together and sharply restated at the end, or, perhaps still better, at the beginning, of every section. The book is too good not to be perfected. And many a lover of the Scriptures into whose hands it comes will regret that the author, whose zeal and enterprise and unwearied industry have been so helpful to Biblical studies, has felt it his duty to transfer his labors, at least in the main, to another department of sacred learning.

J. H. Thayer.

CAMBRIDGE.

THE JEWISH AND THE CHRISTIAN MESSIAH: A Study in the Earliest History of Christianity. By VINCENT HENRY STANTON, M. A., Fellow, Tutor, and Divinity Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo, pp. xvii., 399. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1886.

The earliest Christian confession of faith was very brief: Jesus is the Messiah. But in these simple and familiar words there lies an historical problem of the first difficulty. What did the first Christians mean by that? What did their countrymen whom they tried to win to their faith understand by this sentence, which for the moment comprehended the substance of Christianity? What ideas concerning the person and work of the Messiah prevailed in the circles in which Christianity had its beginnings? This has often been treated as a very simple question. The answer is to be found in what we call the Messianic prophecies of the

Old Testament. A study of these must teach us what God's deliverer was to be and to do. A little reflection, however, will convince us that this is not the case. Those prophecies themselves exhibit no single established and consistent conception of the nature of God's deliverance, or of the means through which it is to be wrought out. On the contrary, nothing about them is more conspicuous — and nothing more significant — than the manifoldness of the forms in which the hope of Israel from age to age found expression. A glance at the last chapter of Dr. Briggs's recent work on the subject will make this very clear. Furthermore, we know — and if the evidence were far more scanty than it is we should still be sure — that the interpretation of these often obscure and difficult passages of the Old Testament, which was current in Jesus' time, often differed widely from that which in the light of Jesus' teaching, of his life and death, and of the apostolic gospel, has prevailed in the church. Finally, the centuries which intervened between the last Messianic voices in the Old Testament and the Christian era had witnessed historic movements and changes which deeply impressed themselves on Jewish character; they had been a period of great activity of thought upon many questions of faith and practice — a development which we ignore only at the risk of misunderstanding the New Testament at every turn. For with this development Christianity immediately connects itself. It grew up on the soil of contemporary Judaism, not of the old religion of Israel, and whether in agreement with it, or in opposition to it, is primarily conditioned by the spirit and the thought of its own time. Important therefore as the careful study of the Old Testament prophecies of redemption in their historical unfolding is, it does not by itself suffice for the understanding of the Messianic faith of the earliest Christians.

What did the Jews of Jesus' time think of the Messiah? What was the teaching of the School and the Synagogue? What forms did the popular expectation take? This is the first question; the second is, What is the attitude of Jesus to these ideas? As for the latter, it is often represented as purely negative. Jesus repudiated the notion of the Messiah which prevailed among his people, and, returning to the purer ideal of the Old Testament, would be the Messiah of Prophecy, in opposition to the Messiah of Judaism. This is, however, an error which involves something more serious than a forced antithesis between the prophets and the scribes — a misapprehension of the nature of Christianity. Jesus had something more to do than to correct the current interpretation of the Old Testament. We owe to Him a deeper and fuller conception of the nature of God's deliverance, and of the character and work of the Messiah, conceptions for which prophets and scribes had prepared the way, but which may for all that fairly be called *new*. It is by virtue of these conceptions that Christianity has its place among the religions of the world, not as reformed Judaism, but as Christianity — the religion of the Messiah.

Our inquiry concerning the meaning of the earliest confession of faith is, however, not at an end when we have ascertained what the prevailing Messianic expectation of Jesus' time was, and what attitude He took to it. It is not only possible but probable, that Jewish conceptions of the Messiah and his work, attaching to the name, would be carried over into the Christian church, and in various ways modify or color its thought of Christ. The christology of the early church must then be studied from this point of view.

Into these three divisions the volume before us falls: the Messianic expectation of the Jews, Jesus' attitude to Messianic beliefs, and Messianic ideas in the early church. The sources from which we may hope to learn about the opinions of Jesus' contemporaries on this subject are of two kinds, namely, the Jewish apocalyptic literature, of which Daniel is the earliest specimen, and in which the centuries just before and after our era were very prolific, and what the author calls for distinction, the Rabbinic literature — the Targums, Mishna, Tosephta, etc., and the oldest Midrash. The Greek apocrypha contribute little more than a significant silence.

The apocalypses, our knowledge of which has within a few years been enlarged by some important discoveries, have the advantage in point of age, being in part older than our era; while the Rabbinical sources are not in their present form earlier than the second century after Christ. On the other hand, the latter enjoy an official recognition and authority, never allowed to the apocalypses, which, however popular, are but irresponsible private writings, expressing the opinions or imaginings of the author and his circle. This limitation is of less importance in the present instance, for a reason which it is necessary to note. Minutely as the Jewish doctors sought to regulate every particular of ceremony and of conduct, that the slightest risk of breaking a law of God might be avoided, they made no attempt to tyrannize over opinion. There were, indeed, certain points which had been subject of sectarian controversy on which the Pharisaic schools lay down the law for faith with considerable stringency — for example, the resurrection of the dead — but in the main, they made no attempt to impose a system of doctrine. This is the case in regard to the Messianic hope, as appears not only from the unrestrained play of the imagination on this subject in the apocalypses, but in the utterances of the doctors of the Law themselves. There was no exclusive Messianic dogma, enjoying the sanctity of orthodoxy. That is the first result of the investigation. In the present work the author has placed his chief reliance upon the apocalyptic writings. The Rabbinic literature he has used to much less purpose, partly because he has not the same familiarity with it; chiefly, as he says, because of the suspicion that these writings have been materially affected by Christian thought or the reaction from it, and are therefore less trustworthy witnesses than their relatively late date of itself would make them. Certainly there is every reason to believe that the spread of Christianity and conflict with it, as well as events of external history, such as the fall of Jerusalem, have left their impression on these works. Criticism must endeavor to discover in what particulars and to what degree. Only when this has been done can we safely use these sources; but only after it had been demonstrated that it cannot be done should we be justified in setting them aside altogether. Without criticism we could not use the apocalyptic material either; for all of it has passed through Christian hands, and little of it has passed untouched; and if, notwithstanding this, we can still employ it, — why not the Hebrew sources in the same way? I am convinced that, properly handled, these sources are by no means so unsafe as Mr. Stanton thinks. Still, the earlier writings of this class do not yield much — that must be admitted.

It is different in regard to the Jewish eschatology (Part III., Ch. II.). Here the Rabbinic sources are hardly liable to the suspicion of Christian influence; they are by no means scanty; and they carry an authority

which does not belong to the fantastic imagery of the apocalypses. The author's sketch of Jewish opinion on this subject is, in spite of its length, unsatisfactory, chiefly because this material has not been sufficiently investigated. Indeed, the most important document bearing upon the subject seems to be entirely unknown to recent writers; for example, to both Dr. Pusey and Canon Farrar in their remarkable controversy.¹

Important, however, are the general remarks (p. 338 f.) on the relation of the New Testament to these opinions, the latter part of which may here be quoted: "The source of the eschatological conceptions which we meet with in the New Testament was not directly the Old Testament, nor were they originated by the Lord Himself or His apostles. It cannot, then, be maintained that the outward form is matter of revelation. The use made of these current ideas in the New Testament is such as to give them an altogether new moral and spiritual effect. The broad lessons of the punishment for sin in a future world, and man's individual accountability, and the summing up of the whole life of mankind in a final crisis at the end of this world-period, irrespective of all race distinctions, come out with a clearness and power in the New Testament which they never did among the Jews. But it may well be that no particular stress was intended to be laid upon particular points in the descriptions derived from the common stock of imagery."

The core of the volume is in the chapter on the Christian transformation of the Idea of the Messiah, and in the whole second part, on Jesus' attitude to Messianic beliefs. To the former is added a chapter on the use of the Old Testament in the early Church, accompanied by a convenient tabular view of the Messianic use of the Old Testament in the New. The second part contains three chapters: the teaching of Jesus concerning the Kingdom of God; His use of the title "Son of Man;" and His claim to be the Christ. In the third part we have the doctrine of the office of Christ in the early church, a comparison of Jewish and Christian eschatology and Messianic prophecy and the Mythical theory, in the course of which Mr. Stanton brings out clearly the Jewish origin of Christian chiliasm.

These questions are discussed in a clear, candid, and scholarly way. The author's standpoint is that of positive but intelligent Christian belief, and the purpose of the work is to bring out into distinct relief the evidences of the truth of our faith which the historical relations of Christianity at its beginnings to Judaism give. The argument is directed against the rationalistic, especially the mythical, explanations of the origin of Christianity. It is, perhaps, because he had these theories chiefly in view that the author has not pushed his investigation into some questions which the title and general scope of the book suggests — foremost among which, as another reviewer has pointed out, is the vital question: how far and in what way is the Messiah the mediator of salvation?

Mr. Stanton is in general well acquainted with the literature of the subject, both English and continental. It is to be regretted that he did not know Schodde's "Enoch," which would not only have given him a version derived immediately from the Ethiopic, but the notes in which would have in some points have brought his knowledge in matters of criticism and interpretation — for example, in the matter of the seventy shepherds — down to a much more recent date. Toy's thorough work on the New Testament quotations has also apparently been overlooked. On

¹ *Tos. Sanhed.* 12.¹⁰ ff. 13.

some points the authorities Mr. S. has followed, especially for the Rabbinic literature, have led him into error. For example, p. 209, n. 1, מלכות השמים is not a Rabbinical phrase, though it figures as such in most commentaries and New Testament lexicons; it should be מלכות שמים — שמים, as virtual proper noun without the article —. The error goes back at least to Schoettgen. Cremer, *N. T. Wörterbuch* is almost the only work of the kind where the fact is correctly stated. P. 214, n. 1, the Targum on Mi. 4.⁷ is quoted as the original of the phrase Kingdom of Heaven — (The kingdom of heaven shall be revealed in . . .). This is also a widely disseminated and persistent error, which in Robinson's *N. T. Lexicon* takes the form of the surprising assertion that the Hebrew phrase מלכות השמים is found in the Targum at that place. As a matter of fact the Targ. Mi. 4.⁷ has in all three of the types of text with which we are acquainted (Antwerp, Bomb.-Buxt.: Reuchl.-Lagarde): the kingdom of Jehovah. If a variant exists it would have to be regarded, in the face of this agreement, as a mere curiosity. But the existence of such a reading at all is very doubtful. In the same note the passage quoted in the Yalkut, from Pesikta and Shir-hashir, Rabba, for the use of the words kingdom of heaven, in a Messianic-eschatological sense can have very little weight, when it is a question of the usage of New Testament times, since the oldest of these sources is hardly to be dated earlier than the seventh century of our era; ib. Targ. Is. 53.¹¹ should be 53.¹⁰. As to Targ. Is. 40.⁹ (comp. Targ. Obad. 21 —) מלכותה is not concrete *kingdom*, but *royalty*, kingly power and state, and is used with the verb, *shall be revealed*, just as *glory*, and other words of the sort in so many cases, to avoid an objectionable anthropomorphism.

But these are comparatively small things. The author has seen what the real problem is, and has addressed himself to the solution of it with a learning, insight, and fairness which deserve our gratitude as well as our praise. His work ought to be in the hands of every one who is concerned to understand the beginnings of Christianity.

G. F. Moore.

ANDOVER.

THE PHARAOKS OF THE BONDAGE AND THE EXODUS. Lectures by CHARLES S. ROBINSON, D. D., LL. D., Madison Avenue Church, New York. 12mo, pp. viii, 199. New York: The Century Co. 1887.

To write a helpful book on Egypt is no easy task. The author faces a unique land, a crabbed language and uncertain chronology, an immemorial history, coupled with an art that dazzles and a religion that mystifies. He must compose, so to speak, in the midst of discovery. His highest authorities are at variance with one another. The novice is apt to fail absolutely. If the expert's sketch be firm in outline and true in coloring, he counts himself fortunate.

Dr. Robinson is alive to these difficulties that inhere in his subject. On the whole, he has met them ably in his "Pharaohs of the Bondage and the Exodus." The lectures are thirteen. It is evident they are based on study of what Egyptologists have done both before and since the great find of Deir el Bahari in 1881. They are distinctly modern in tone. One feels the traveler in the glowing atmosphere. The scholar and teacher

stamps himself on the pure style and philosophic thought. According to him, the obelisk was an "Egyptian psalm of praise." To many it will be a new idea to cite "mummies as evidences of Christianity." Dr. Robinson is a clergyman, who makes the most of the historical and theological bearings of his facts. A scientist might copy none the less with advantage his caution, his precision, his patience, his enthusiasm in amassing and winnowing these facts for others. The book is worth half a dozen more pretentious publications in the field it touches.

John Phelps Taylor.

IN DIVERS TONES. By CHARLES D. G. ROBERTS, author of "Orion and other Poems," Professor of English Literature in the University of King's College, Windsor, N. S. Pp. viii, 134. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. \$1.00.

DAFFODILS. A new Volume of Poems. By MRS. A. D. T. WHITNEY. 16mo, pp. iv, 132. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1887. \$1.25.

The author of "In Divers Tones," who is Professor of English Literature in the University of King's College, at Windsor, Nova Scotia, is evidently no sharer in the spirit of secession which is said to be abroad in his province. If he were, he could hardly have written such patriotic poems as *Collect for Dominion Day and Canada*, to say nothing of *An Ode on the Canadian Confederacy*.

Professor Roberts, however, appears to best advantage as a poet in his descriptive pieces, especially those referring to scenes and incidents with which he is personally familiar. Take, for example, *The Pantramas Revisited*, and compare it with the classical poem on *Actæon*. His skill in handling the various metres shows that he is no novice in the art of versification. Words fall easily and musically into their places. But, on laying down the book, one perhaps may ask himself whether after all it is so much a diversity of tones as of forms and themes. The thought, which is always clear, runs through a smooth channel; but one wishes for more of the little turns and recesses with which a brook of nature is constantly surprising us.

The sentiment is always good, always easily expressed, and of false notes there are almost none, in this graceful little volume.

The publishers have done all that could be desired to give Mrs. Whitney's "Daffodils" an appropriate setting. The gold-and-white cover, bearing the imprint of the daffodil, produces a very pleasing effect.

In these poems, no less than in her recently published "Holy Tides," the spiritual quality in Mrs. Whitney's thinking is very evident. We see this in such a poem as *The Witness*, where she says:

"An Image stands all glorious
Before our comprehension dim:
Either He hath created us,
Or our poor thought created Him."

One will also be struck with the short hymn to the Trinity, at the close of the volume. A better one for the purpose of church dedication is seldom found.

In the poems which come nearest to life, especially in those expressive of religious feeling and of the love of home and children, Mrs. Whitney writes as if from a full and real experience.

The workmanship is not all of equal merit. Now and then a word or phrase seems infelicitous, and the expression a little strained. We doubt

if there is etymological warrant for such a compound as "forecastless." Such lapses, however, are slight in view of the aspiring quality of the poems as a whole.

Samuel V. Cole.

DEMOCRACY AND OTHER ADDRESSES. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. 16mo, pp. vi, 245. Boston and New York : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1887. \$1.25.

The only way in which we have much occasion to remark on a book of Mr. Lowell is to quote from it. In the address on Democracy, especially, we may confidently exhibit the bricks as specimens of the house. "He who has read his Aristotle will be apt to think that observation has on most points of general applicability said its last word, and he who has mounted the tower of Plato to look abroad from it will never hope to climb another with so lofty a vantage of speculation." "I have grown to manhood and am now growing old with the growth of this system of government in my native land, have watched its advances, or what some would call its encroachments, gradual and irresistible as those of a glacier, have been an ear-witness to the forebodings of wise and good and timid men, and have lived to see those forebodings belied by the course of events, which is apt to show itself humorously careless of the reputation of prophets." "'The beggar is in the saddle at last,' cries Proverbial Wisdom. 'Why, in the name of all former experience, does n't he ride to the Devil?' Because in the very act of mounting he ceased to be a beggar and became part-owner of the piece of property he bestrode."

Mr. Lowell is no Communist, or piece of a Communist. But we judge he does not, with a very eminent journal, think that every one who treats workingmen as really having a grievance ought to be sent to prison. "It is only when the reasonable and practicable are denied that men demand the unreasonable and impracticable; only when the possible is made difficult that they fancy the impossible to be easy." "To the door of every generation there comes a knocking, and unless the household, like the Thane of Cawdor and his wife, have been doing some deed without a name, they need not shudder." "The trade unions are now debating instead of conspiring." "I am a little impatient of being told that property is entitled to exceptional consideration because it bears all the burdens of the State. It bears those, indeed, which can most easily be borne, but poverty pays with its person the chief expenses of war, pestilence, and famine." Yet Mr. Lowell presses the necessity of "wealth, and of hereditary wealth, as the security of refinement, the feeder of all those arts that ennoble and beautify life." "An appeal to the reason of the people" — he is speaking to Englishmen of America — "has never been known to fail in the long run. It is, perhaps, true that, by effacing the principle of passive obedience, democracy, ill understood, has slackened the spring of that ductility to discipline which is essential to 'the unity and married calm of States.' But I feel assured that experience and necessity will cure this evil, as they have shown their power to cure others."

In the tumblings and tossings of our thoughts how to find the true way of appeasing discontent without sacrificing civilization, I think we may look long before we find a better anchoring-ground than Mr. Lowell offers us. "What is really ominous of danger to the existing order of things is not democracy (which, properly understood, is a conservative force), but the Socialism, which may find a fulcrum in it. If we cannot

equalize conditions and fortunes any more than we can equalize the brains of men . . . we can yet, perhaps, do something to correct those methods and influences that lead to enormous inequalities, and to prevent their growing more enormous. It is all very well to pooh-pooh Mr. George and to prove him mistaken in his political economy. I do not believe that land should be divided because the quantity of it is limited by nature. Of what may this not be said? . . . But he is right in his impelling motive; right also, I am convinced, in insisting that humanity makes a part, by far the most important part, of political economy; and in thinking man to be of more concern and more convincing than the longest columns of figures in the world. For unless you include human nature in your addition, your total is sure to be wrong and your deduction from it is sure to be fallacious." What follows has been largely quoted. "Socialism," as opposed to State Socialism, "means, or wishes to mean . . . 'the practical application of Christianity to life, and has in it the secret of an orderly and benign reconstruction.'" "Let us be of good cheer, however, remembering that the misfortunes hardest to bear are those which never come."

The brief address upon the death of Garfield follows well upon this. "In the presence of that death-scene so homely, so human, so august in its unostentatious heroism, the commonplaces of ordinary eulogy stammer with the sudden shame of their own ineptitude." "Not only has his blood re-cemented our Union, but the dignity, the patience, the self-restraint, the thoughtfulness for others, the serene valor which he showed under circumstances so disheartening and amid the wreck of hopes so splendid, are a possession and a stimulus to his countrymen forever. The emulation of examples like his makes nations great and keeps them so. The soil out of which such men as he are made is good to be born on, good to live on, good to die for and to be buried in."

Of Fielding the author says: "He had the courage to be absolutely sincere, if he had not always the tact to see where sincerity is out of place. We may discuss, we may estimate him, but we cannot push him from his place. His imagination was of that secondary order of which I have spoken, subdued to what it worked in; and his creative power is not less in degree than that of purely ideal artists, but was different in kind, or, if not, is made to seem so by the more vulgar substance in which it is wrought." "Fielding's characters are very real persons; but they are not types in the same sense as Lear and Hamlet. They seem to be men whom we have seen rather than men whom we might see if we were lucky enough — men who have been rather than who might have been." "We may read Fielding's character clearly in his books, for it was not complex, but especially in his 'Voyage to Lisbon,' where he reveals it in artless inadvertence. He was a lovingly thoughtful husband, a tender father, a good brother, a useful and sagacious magistrate. He was courageous, gentle, thoroughly conscious of his own dignity as a gentleman, and able to make that dignity respected."

Of the address on Coleridge, we may say, that its character, as the world has already determined, is ripe and rounded completeness, æsthetic, intellectual, and spiritual maturity. It is worthy of the author and of the subject, worthy of England and of America, and worthy of Westminster Abbey.

In the address at the opening of the Chelsea library we find a sentence which shows how far Mr. Lowell is, in that desire which has al-

ways guided him, that "Christ should not be shuffled away into the Apocrypha," from being a Fifth Monarchy man of our century. "A public library should also have many and full shelves of political economy, for the dismal science, as Carlyle called it, if it prove nothing else, will go far towards proving that theory is the bird in the bush, though she sing more sweetly than the nightingale, and that the millennium will not hasten its coming in deference to the most convincing string of resolutions that were ever unanimously adopted in public meeting. It likewise induces in us a profound and wholesome distrust of social panaceas."

In the address on Wordsworth, besides the mention of the "rare quality of the minds that he has most attracted and influenced," and the admission that he continues to be insular; that he makes no conquests beyond the boundaries of his mother-tongue; that, "more than perhaps any poet of equal endowment, he is great and surprising in passages and ejaculations," we have been most struck by this reference to the central poem of the world: "In what I think to be the sublimest reach to which poetry has risen, the conclusion of the 'Paradiso,' Dante tells us that within the three whirling rings of vari-colored light that symbolize the wisdom, the power, and the love of God, he seems to see the image of man."

A peculiarly fine touch in the paper on Don Quixote is this:—

"It is noticeable too, in passing, what a hypæthral story it is, how much of it passes in the open air, how the sun shines, the birds sing, the brooks dance, and the leaves murmur in it." Last comes the Harvard address which we all have in our memories. May this remain in our memories in these days when "the baby beats the nurse, and quite athwart goes all decorum," and this topsy-turvy is praised as the highest enlightenment. "We are trying to do two things with one tool, and that tool not specially adapted to either. Are our students old enough thoroughly to understand the import of the choice they are called on to make, and if old enough, are they wise enough? Shall their parents make the choice for them? I am not sure that even parents are so wise as the unbroken experience and practice of mankind. We are comforted by being told that in this we are only complying with what is called the Spirit of the Age, which may be, after all, only a finer name for the mischievous goblin known to our forefathers as Puck. I have seen several Spirits of the Age in my time, of very different voices and summoning in very different directions, but unanimous in their propensity to land us in the mire at last." With what follows thereupon.

The general effect of these papers is to fortify the belief, that one is not likely to be greatly moved by ephemeral falsehood, who is well grounded in eternal Truth, and that a knowledge of what is vital in the past is an admirable preservative against becoming a slave of the present.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

GERMAN THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte, von P. D. Chautepie de la Saussaye, Dr. und ord. Prof. der Theologie in Amsterdam. Erster Band. Freiburg i. B.: Mohr: 1887. 8vo, pp. x, 465. 9 marks.—The *Sammlung theologischer Lehrbücher*, of which Holtzmann's *N. T. Einleitung* and Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte* formed the first two volumes, is in-

creased by another important work, and the thanks of the general theological public as well as of students are again due to the publishers for their praiseworthy undertaking. A glance over the list of contributors whose works are in course of preparation assures us that the character of the series will be sustained, and that scientific theology will continue to be a gainer. The present work is preëminently a text-book. It exhibits with clearness and conciseness the chief points of the various subjects which it treats, leaving the minor details, of interest only to the specialist, to be sought elsewhere. At the same time the literature is given with sufficient fullness to guide the student in more extended work. The first volume is divided into an Allgemeiner Theil, which treats of such introductory subjects as the science of religion in general, the origin of religion, etc., a Phänomenologischer Theil, an Ethnographischer Theil, and a Historischer Theil, the last embracing the religions of the Chinese, Egyptians, Babylonians and Assyrians, and Indians. The next volume, which is expected to appear within a year, will treat the religions of the Persians, Greeks, Romans, Germanic peoples, and Mohammedanism. We quote a few sentences which will serve to show the standpoint of the author, and his position upon some of the mooted points. "Wir wollen also auch in der Religionswissenschaft die Bedeutung der mechanischen Betrachtung, den Werth der Evolutionslehre nicht schmälern, glauben aber nicht, dass diese Lehre zur Beurtheilung des religiösen Lebens der Menschen ausreicht" (p. 10). "Die Frage nach der Uffenbarung darf also keineswegs als eine ganz oder halb-historische gelten; sie ist eine rein philosophische" (p. 23). "Vielmehr gilt uns die Religion als aus dem Wesen des Menschen hervorgegangen, unter Einflüssen und Umständen, worin Gottes Activität sich bethätigte, ohne dass wir aber die Form und die Verhältnisse, worin dies geschah, bestimmen können" (p. 24). "Vielmehr glauben wir, dass Religion und Sittlichkeit, im Ursprung getrennt, sich später mit einander verbunden haben, dass das religiöse Verhältniss sich im Laufe der Entwicklung moralisirt hat" (p. 35). "Deshalb ist es undenkbar dieses Volk (Israelites) so direct an ägyptische Ursprünge zu knüpfen, wie man thut, wenn man die Jahvereligion für ein Stück ägyptischer Geheimlehre hält . . ." (p. 317). — *Geschichte der Christlichen Ethik*, von Dr. W. Gass. Erster Band: Bis zur Reformation (1881. 8vo, pp. xviii, 457). Zweiten Bandes erste Abtheilung: Sechzehntes und siebzehntes Jahrhundert. Die vorherrschend kirchliche Ethik (1886. Pp. xvi, 372). Zweiten Bandes zweite Abtheilung: Achtzehntes und neunzehntes Jahrhundert. Die philosophische und die theologische Ethik (1887. Pp. xvi, 386). Berlin: Reimer, complete 20 marks. — The recently issued second part of the second volume of this work completes a most important contribution to the history of ethics. The first volume has been before the public since 1881, and therefore the work as a whole needs no commendation here. The present installment handles Die Vorkantische Entwicklung, Kant und seine Epoche, Katholische Moralthologie, Die speculativen Schulen, Die Literatur der Neuzeit. The method and standpoint of the author (the venerable Heidelberg professor) may be gathered from a sentence or two in the closing chapter of his work. "Die von uns vorangestellte Darstellung eines *Processes* wird methodisch dadurch bedingt sein, dass wir uns in der Möglichkeit befinden, entweder den Standpunkt einer *sittlich* religiösen oder einer *religiös* sittlichen Entwicklung durchzuführen. Ich habe meinerseits dem ersteren, d. h. dem synthe-

tischen Verfahren den Vorzug gegeben, und zwar im Anschluss an den Gang der Menschengeschichte, welchem zufolge ein gewisser Besitz sittlicher Urtheile dem durchgreifenden Einfluss der Religion als vorangehend gedacht werden muss." "Nach unserer Meinung giebt es für den Ethiker keine frühere Frage als die, *wie der Mensch zu sich selber steht*, die anthropologische und psychologische, die eine physiologische Erkenntniss zur Unterlage hat" (p. 369). "Aber auch der *Determinismus* ist unhaltbar für sich allein. Menschliche Handlungen gehen nicht wie Consequenzen auseinander hervor, sondern werden von Momenten der Erwägung und erneuten Besinnung unterbrochen, es ist kein Gesetz, was sie verbindet" (p. 372). — *Der Reichstag zu Speier 1526 im Zusammenhang der politischen und kirchlichen Entwicklung Deutschlands im Reformationszeitalter*, von Walter Friedensburg. (*Historische Untersuchungen*, herausgegeben von J. Jastrow, Heft V.) Berlin: Gaertner: 1887. 8vo, pp. xiv, 602. 15 marks. — The present work throws much new and greatly needed light upon a very important epoch of the Reformation. The book is an excellent example of proverbial German industry. It rests upon a very extensive study of the original documents, and utilizes a mass of material which has hitherto been unnoticed. The first book (pp. 99–192) is devoted to a general view of the condition of the empire and the politics of the emperor during the period in which the Reichstag was held. The second book (pp. 193–490) treats the Reichstag itself in a most thorough manner. The appendix contains a brief description of the various archives consulted, and the full text of numerous documents referred to in the work itself. — In connection with the above may be mentioned *Briefwechsel Landgraf Philipp's des Grossmüthigen von Hessen mit Bucer*, herausgegeben und erläutert von M. Leuz. 2 Thl. (Publicationen aus den königlichen preussischen Staatsarchiven, Bd. 28.) Leipzig: Hirzel: 1887. 8vo, pp. x, 506. 14 marks. — This offers rich material for a study of Philip's character and of the Reformation in Hessen. — *Augustinische Studien*, von Hermann Reuter. Gotha: Perthes: 1887. 8vo, pp. viii, 516. 10 marks. — Contains seven notable studies of "eines seiner Lieblingschriftsteller," by the famous Göttingen church historian whom common consent names the greatest living authority upon the church of the Middle Ages. The first five studies have already appeared at various intervals during the past five years in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, and are reprinted with a few minor alterations and additions. They are: I. Die Lehre von der Kirche und die Motive des pelagianischen Streits; II. Zur Frage nach dem Verhältniss der Lehre von der Kirche zu der Lehre von der prädestinarianischen Gnade; III. Die Kirche das Reich Gottes; IV. Augustin und der katholische Orient; V. Der Episkopat und die Kirche. Der Episkopat und der römische Stuhl, Das Konzil und die Tradition. Die Infallibilität. The last two studies appear for the first time: VI. Weltliches und geistliches Leben (Mönchthum). Weltliche und kirchliche (geistliche) Wissenschaft (Mystik); VII. Zur Würdigung der Stellung Augustins in der Geschichte der Kirche. The studies are very thorough, and the results reached are in many cases of such a nature as to modify quite materially many commonly accepted positions. Space forbids a discussion of any of the results. The author's method is broad and historical. He does not confine his attention to single and isolated passages, but treats Augustine's works as a whole. — *Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen*

Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments sowie zu den Apokryphen, herausgegeben von Strack und Zöckler. A. Altes Testament. Dritte Abtheilung: *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige*, ausgelegt von Dr. August Klostermann, ord. Prof. d. Theologie zu Kiel. I. Hälfte. Nördlingen: Beck: 1887. Lex-8vo, pp. xii, 304. 5 marks. — The three earlier volumes of this important series which appeared last year were mentioned in the January number of the "Review." The present work differs from its predecessors in the fact that much greater attention is paid to questions of textual criticism, and as a consequence it is both more scientific and more extended (the books of Samuel alone occupy 261 pages). In regard to this, Professor Strack, in a prefatory note, says: "Muss auch leider sonst dieses 'kurzgefasste' Kommentarwerk sich begnügen, in *textkritischer Beziehung* im wesentlichen die *Resultate* fremder und eigener Forschungen mitzuthemen, und darauf verzichten die ganze Einzelbegründung derselben in extenso vorzuführen, so waren wir es doch unsern Lesern, namentlich den zahlreichen Studierenden, schuldig, wenigstens an einem angeführten Beispiele zu zeigen, mit welchen Hilfsmitteln und in welcher Weise die Textkritik die ihr in Bezug auf das Alte Testament gestellten Aufgaben zu lösen sucht." He considers this fullness to be especially needed in the present volume on account of the unusual corruption of the text of Samuel and Kings. The series thus far has been warmly welcomed by conservative scholars, while the liberal school look upon it (to quote Harnack, *Theol. Lit. Zeitung*, 1886: No. 24, col. 554) as the production of that class of workers who "beruhigen das von ihnen erzogene Geschlecht von Pfarrern durch zahlreiche Neudrucke, Handbücher und Compendien;" while Schürer, in his review of the volumes upon the Gospels and Acts, says: "Die Tradition ist der feste Boden auf dem man sich sicher fühlt. Für die auf diesem Boden stehende Schaar schreibt man in echt katholischer Weise Compendien und Handbücher" (ibid. No. 23). The present installment extends to 1 Kings vii. The second and smaller half is to appear within a few weeks. — *Paulus von Damascus bis zum Galaterbrief*, von Gustav Volkmar, Prof. d. Theol. in Zürich. Zürich: Schröter und Meyer: 1887. 8vo, pp. 120. 1.20 mks. — Contains three studies: I. Geschichte des Apostels Paulus und seiner Zeit von Damascus bis zum Galater Brief, in den Grundzügen nach ihm selbst und nach Lucas. Der einleitende und thetische Theil (pp. 1-21); II. Ein Gang durch die beiden Apostelgeschichten, im Bereich des Apostelstreits. Der analytische und ausführende Theil (pp. 22-79); III. Ein Gang durch den Galater Brief in seinen Rückblicken, und ihr Licht für das Geheimniss unserer Apostelgeschichte. Der exegetisch ergänzende Theil (pp. 80-120). — The first two studies appeared in the *Theol. Ztschr.* aus der Schweiz in 1884 and 1885. The last is printed here for the first time. The book represents essentially the old Tübingen standpoint, and defends many positions which are now almost universally abandoned by scholars. Aside from a few minor details the book contains little that is really new, though the old points are brought out with increased distinctness.

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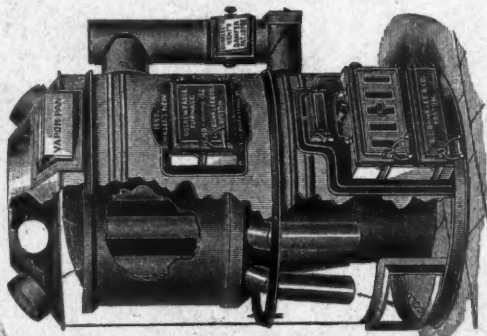
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